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## THE FOUNTAIN DEFENDED

### II

Por la costume maintenir  
De vostre fontaine deffandre.—*Yvain*, vss. 1848 ff.

In discussing the sources of the *Yvain*<sup>1</sup> the testimony of the text is of prime importance. This seems obvious. Yet glancing through the rather heated discussion of Crestien's poem one realizes that the principle is not always followed. Theoretically the commentators may be agreed that the fountain episode "constitutes<sup>2</sup> the distinctive element of the romance," but we know that in practice the fairy-mistress (Laudine is a water-nymph, argues Brown,<sup>3</sup> "simply because she happens to be a fée") and the *wetterwendisches weib* ("Laudine ist keine Fee," Foerster, 3d ed., 1906, p. xlvii) have in turn been holding the boards. Crestien's material is one thing, and his thought or interpretation, like any poet's, is another. The commentator, while keeping both points of view in mind, must distinguish between them. For Crestien's material, if it had a coherent form, and that seems possible, had a meaning of its own.

It is possible, as Foerster has pointed out, that Crestien's intent in writing the *Yvain* was to hold up to scorn the disdainful lady of his day, the very person whom in the *Lancelot* he was probably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Foerster, 3d ed., p. v, n. 2: "deutsch also Iwain."

<sup>2</sup> See *Modern Philology*, VI, pp. 331 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Iwain, a Study*, p. 22.

compelled to exalt. We may say Crestien applies to French court life the dialectics of the schoolmen: they expound the dogma of religion, he expounds the dogma of social conduct—a different subject but the same method. *Cligés*, the romance of Crestien's which we know best, is an attempt to make a romantic love conform to a social standard of correct behavior.<sup>1</sup> Crestien is mediaeval to the core; to this fact his other works bear testimony, and his treatment is singularly literal. He may be inventive, to a certain degree, yet he is certainly not imaginative. But this is not, as I have indicated, the problem that concerns us. We are attempting to discover—from his text—the character of the material he employed. Did his material have a coherent form before it came into his hands? If so, what was its theme? For on the latter question much more depends than on matters of detail, such, for example, whether the fountain of the *Yvain* has descriptive traits which class it with other Celtic fountains;<sup>2</sup> for Celtic the *Yvain* fountain is perforce, inasmuch as it is the fountain of Béronton and that lies in Celtic territory.

In 1905,<sup>3</sup> I ventured to identify the theme of the *conte* which has here been spun into a romance with that of the Arician Diana myth. I need not retrace my steps here except to repeat the words<sup>4</sup> in which I summed up my theory. I said: "It is clear that the *conte* on which Crestien drew represented a version of the Italic Diana myth. And should this inference prove too far-sweeping, it is at least probable that the source itself was a fusion of this theme with one of Celtic origin." And, in referring to the details of the fountain episode (not the mere description of the fountain): these "details probably point to an undercurrent of folk-tale, of 'the kind embodied in the Diana myth.'"<sup>5</sup> The weak point in my argument doubtless was the emphasis laid on the parallelism of the names, since it was evident to me then,<sup>6</sup> as it is now, that there

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Van Hamel, *Romania*, XXXIV (1901), p. 472 and *passim*; also my first article, *Modern Philology*, III, p. 267. But I do not wish to imply that Crestien had a deeply moral purpose: his ideas were those of the circles he frequented.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Modern Philology*, VI, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>3</sup> My previous article in *Modern Philology*, III, pp. 269-80.

<sup>4</sup> For misquotations see below.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> "Should not Laudine be a perverted form of *La diane*," *op. cit.*, p. 277.

are phonetic reasons against deriving Laudine < La Diane. At the time, however, what I wished to prove was that the romance is fundamentally a fountain-myth, originating in a fountain-cult, and that its connection with the fairy-mistress theme of the *Serlige-Conculaind* type is secondary, perhaps, indeed, carried over from the source of one of Crestien's other stories. In this respect my opinion is unchanged, and the material I shall now adduce is in support of this view. But I never affirmed, as has recently been said,<sup>1</sup> that the fountain-episode is "a direct survival of the Arician myth of Diana," nor did I harbor the thought that "Crestien took his material from this myth."

At the outset the question arises whether Laudine is originally a water-goddess, as Baist affirms, *eine Wasserfrau*.<sup>2</sup> If she is, then there is an inherent probability that the *Yvain* is a development of a fountain-deity cult. This, we remember, was the point of departure of Ahlström, who thought that the fountain and the lady are inseparable, and that Laudine belongs to the swan-maiden type.<sup>3</sup> The view is stoutly opposed by Brown<sup>4</sup> and by Foerster, by the former with the fairy-mistress hypothesis, and by the latter in the following words:<sup>5</sup>

Gerade die Tatsache, dass nach der erreichten Verbindung der beiden [Laudine and Yvain] von der Quelle nie mehr die Rede ist, dass Laudine, die den Yvain nur geheirathet hat, um einen Beschützer zu finden, ihn sofort ziehen lässt und an die wiederum mindestens auf ein Jahr ungeschirmte Quelle gar nicht mehr denkt, zeigt, dass die Quelle ein ganz fremdes Einschiebsel ist, und dass zwischen ihr und Laudine kein wie immer beschaffener Zusammenhang besteht.

The weakness of Brown's argument *on this particular point* I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>6</sup> and I need not repeat here. As regards Foerster's statement, the words *von der Quelle nie mehr die Rede ist* are not to be taken too literally, for in vss. 6595 ff. we read:

Qu'an aus n'ai je nule atandue,  
Que ja par aus soit deffandue  
La fontaine ne li perrons.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, VI, p. 331.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*, XXI, pp. 402-5.

<sup>3</sup> *Mélanges Wahlund*, 1896, pp. 294-303.

<sup>4</sup> *Ivain*, pp. 20 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Third ed., p. xxiv, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, pp. 80-85; *Modern Philology*, III, p. 289.

Furthermore, Laudine had previously shown ample concern about the defense of her fountain:

Qu'ele estoit an grant eusançon  
De sa fontainne garantir.—Vss. 1736 ff.  
Et oseriez vos anprendre  
Por moi ma fontainne a deffandre?—Vss. 2034 ff.

And Lunete especially cautions her mistress:

Por la costume maintenir  
De vostre fontainne deffandre,  
Vos covandroit buen consoil prandre.—Vss. 1848 ff.

On the basis of these passages I previously remarked:<sup>1</sup> "This function, the *defense* of the Fountain, is the essential point in the whole tale." I also called attention to the fact that Crestien differentiates the visits of Calogrenant and Arthur<sup>2</sup> from that of Yvain by dwelling on the date and hour of their arrival, and by having Arthur go from Carduel direct, through the summons of the Dameisele Sauvage, instead of visiting the Hospitable Host and the Giant Herdsman on the way. In addition to the general situation (manner of defense, succession of defenders, etc.), various details led me to suppose that the defense was concerned ultimately with the protection of the tree-spirit, a fire- and rain-making divinity, such as Frazer had shown the Arician goddess to be. But leaving aside the last consideration for the present, the testimony of the text alone would show that Laudine requires Yvain primarily as a protector of her fountain, with which her welfare is thus somehow connected. For this reason I believe that Baist is right in assuming that Laudine represents a water-goddess—if not in name, then at least in function.

Now the striking thing about the parallels to Crestien's fountain which have been adduced from Celtic sources is that however like it they be in certain details, only one of them, the Irish *Gilla Decair*,<sup>3</sup> involves the defense of the fountain by a living being. To this particular parallel I shall return below.<sup>4</sup> The other mediaeval

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> On the occasion of Arthur's visit the text again brings out the feature of the defense, in vss. 2220 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Iwain*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> This tale is again summarized by Miss Morgan but without any reference to Mr. Brown's previous summary. Other references, as Brown states, had been made by Macbain, *Celtic*



parallels either lack the *perron* which plays so important a part in the *Yvain* or they can readily be explained—one only has to consult Foerster (3d ed., pp. xxv–xxxi)—as varying accounts of the self-same fountain to which our romance refers. Jacques de Vitry (*Historia orientalis*, XCI), Giraldus Cambrensis (Rolls series, V, p. 89) refer to Brittany by name; Guillaume le Breton (*Philippis*, VI, 445) speaks of *Brecliacensis*, which from the context is almost surely Broceliande, and Thomas Cantapranus is not, as Miss Morgan fancies, referring to Great Britain but to Brittany: Thomas calls<sup>1</sup> England *Anglia* and the *illis in partibus* where history tells us Richard waged war is *Brittania* or *Armorica*. Alexander Neckam,<sup>2</sup> who describes the fountain on hearsay, does not localize it.

There is, however, a neglected parallel to the characteristic trait of the Armorican fountain which brings the sudden-storm into connection with a nature divinity. Before mentioning it, it may be well to restate the traits of our fountain which have seemed to scholars to be essential:

- a) The fountain has next to it a *perron* or a slab of stone:<sup>3</sup>

Li perrons est d' une esmeraude,  
Perciez aussi come une boz,  
S'i ot quatre rubiz dessoz  
Plus flanboianz et plus vermauz,  
Que n'est au matin li solauz  
Quant il apert en oriant.<sup>4</sup>—Vss. 424 ff.

*Magazine*, IX, p. 278; Alfred Nutt, *ibid.*, XII, p. 555; Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 187 ff., and F. Lot, *Romania*, XXI, pp. 67 ff. Brown also gives the Giraldus Cambrensis reference, *Topogr. Hiberniae*, disc. ii, chap. 7, to the fountain in Munster; and Lady Guest in the *Mabinogion*, I, p. 226, mentions the Snowdon tale in Wales where the *perron* is called the "red altar." But, in addition to Miss Morgan's references, Brown refers to J. M. MacKinlay, *Folklore of the Scottish Locha*, p. 222, for an account of a blue stone (the *perron*) near Skye on which water was poured to procure rain; cf. note, below, on the "rain-stone."

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Foerster, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup>*De naturis rerum*, II, chap. vii.

<sup>3</sup>In Thomas a kind of dolmen; cf. Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxix.

<sup>4</sup>Of course the *perron* is the well known "rain-stone," cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, I, p. 109 (the University of California library does not yet possess the third edition of Frazer). This is merely one of many ways resorted to by sympathetic magic in order to bring on rainfall. There is not room here to review the question adequately; see O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, §263, "Steinfetische;" Le P. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*, Paris, 1903, chap. v, §1: "les pierres sacrées (bétyles);" Farwell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, pp. 45, 46 (a reference I owe to Dr. G. L. Hamilton). With the growth of demonology arose the idea that the stone was inhabited by a demon, whose acts might be unfriendly to man; cf. Gruppe, p. 775. Hence the "injurious storm" as in the *Yvain*, a similar one being found in

In Crestien the fountain is shaded by a tree:

Bien sai de l'arbre, c'est la fins,  
Que ce estoit li plus biaux pins  
Qui onques sor terre creüst.—Vss. 413 ff.

This tree is *not* found in the other accounts, whence Kölbing<sup>1</sup> argued that it is an addition derived from the Brendan legend.

b) Water from the fountain is poured on this *perron*, by means of a cup<sup>2</sup> hanging from the tree.

c) A sudden, violent storm thereupon takes place.<sup>3</sup>

Thus it is clear that what really produces the storm is not a disturbance of the fountain, but water being poured upon the stone slab by its side (from a cup which had been hanging on the tree nearby). Under the heading of Jupiter Elicius, commonly

*Pertesvaus* (Potvin, I, p. 90) after Gawain's failure at the Grail Castle. Mr. Hamilton calls my attention to the fact that among the Mongols the magic stone was thus used to the detriment of one's enemies; in somewhat like manner, the heliotrope (cf. Crestien's *esmeralde*) in the mediaeval lapidaries; see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXVIII (1909), p. 68:

Oez l'assens del Yotrophie  
Ke tute gent ne seivent mie.  
D' *esmeralde* après la color,  
N'a pas meismes la valor;  
E. tencelée est de gutes vermailles.  
Ore escutez ci grans merveilles:  
Ky cele pere en eawe met,  
En un bon vessel bel e net,  
E tut si en rai du solail,  
Il devandra trestut vermail;  
Tut ert coloré come sanc.  
Ja tant n'ert beals ne cler ne blanc,  
Si ke tuz ceus le verunt  
*A eclipse le jugerunt;*  
E l' eawe en vaissel ou gerra,  
Sachez ke tot boillir fera,  
E f(e)ra par l' eir *tenebror*  
*E tantost ploveir par entor.*  
Ki la porte pot deviner  
Plusurs choses, si l' ad mester.  
Mut fet home de bone fame  
E viouge en maint reaume. (The italics are mine.)

For an account of how the eastern islanders make rain by means of a stone image, called *doiom*, which can be employed magically against enemies see *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, 1908, VI, pp. 194, 234.

But distinct from the rain-stone, at least originally, are the numerous Celtic "inundation" stories cited by Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, chap. vii, in which an irate deity is also concerned.

Professor Hugo Schilling has called to my notice that Hartmann v. Aue reads:

Und ob dem brunne stêt ein  
harte zierlicher stein (vss. 581-82);

whereas Crestien has:

Lez la fontaine troveras  
Un perron tel, con tu verras.  
—vss. 390, 391.

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte*, XI, pp. 442-48. Cf. below. I now think the tree is part of the theme.

<sup>2</sup> Vs. 438.

<sup>3</sup> The "boiling" of the fountain, vs. 390, I have previously mentioned; cf. *Modern Philology*, III, p. 274.

associated by the poets with Juppiter Fulgator, Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon*<sup>1</sup> mentions the following:

Es bestand nun zu Rom, wo in folge langanhaltender Dürre (Nissen, *Italische Landeskulte*, I, s. 375, 379) nicht selten Wassermangel herrschte, ein eigenartiger Brauch, um den ersehnten Regen dem Himmel zu entlocken. Paul, s. 128. *manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam quae est extra portem Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in urbem pertraherent insequeretur pluvia statim eumque quod aquas manarent, manalem lapidem dixerunt.* Der echt römische Ritus der Prozession spricht für ihr hohes Alter. Die Pontifices besorgen die Opferhandlungen (Varro b. *Non.*, s. 547) und ziehen selber den Stein (Serv. *ad Aen.*, 3, 175), es folgen ihnen barfüßig mit aufgelöstem Haar die Matronen (Petron. 44) und die Magistrate ohne die Abzeichen ihres Amtes (Tertull. *de ieiun.* 16). Der Stein sei, schliesst Gilbert, *Gesch. u. Top. Roms*, 2. s. 154 a. 1 aus Nonius und Paulus a. a. O., in Form eines *urceolus*, eines Kruges, ausgehöhlt gewesen und aus dieser Höhlung sei Wasser vergossen worden, "offenbar zu dem Zwecke, um durch diese dramatische Wiedergabe des Regens diesen selbst in natura gleichsam aus dem Himmel d. i. Juppiter herauszulocken." . . . Das Aquaelicium [bildet] den ganzen Inhalt des Dienstes.<sup>2</sup>

It is to be noted also that in *Juppiter* as in *Diana*, the basic root is Indo-Ger. *di- div-*, "glänzen" or "leuchten," and that the god incarnates the creative power in nature: "Auf die Fruchtbarkeit von Menschen u. Tieren, auf das Gedeihen der Saaten und Felder erstreckt sich sein Wirken." Thus we have another link<sup>3</sup> in the chain of probability that the *Yvain* embodies a nature cult.

In Gaul the cult of a river- or fountain-deity was probably once general. The frequent occurrence of river names in *div-* is striking: *La Dive*, *La Duis*, *La Dianna*, *La Devona*, *L'Andiole*, etc.<sup>4</sup> The fountain of Bordeaux, celebrated by Ausonius under the name of "Divonā," was said by him to signify *Cellarum lingua, fons addite divis*, and he himself invokes it as *sacer, alme, perennis, urbis genius*,<sup>5</sup> etc. Lake Andéol, at the foot of Mt. Helanus in

<sup>1</sup> II, 657.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 736, n. 2, 1524, and the references cited above.

<sup>3</sup> For others see *Modern Philology*, III, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> See below. Cf. also a few river-names in Great Britain: the Dee, etc.; see Rhys, *Celtic Folklore*, chap. vii, p. 442.

<sup>5</sup> *Ord. urb. nob.*, 157-62. Cf. G. D. Hadzsits, "Aphrodite and the Dione Myth," *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, XXX, pp. 38-53.

the Cévennes, according to Gregory of Tours,<sup>1</sup> was the object of a cult of considerable magnitude, which lasted several days; on the fourth day, he says, there arose "tempestas cum tonitruo et coruscatione valida; et in tantum imber ingens cum lapidum violentia descendebat ut vix se quisquam eorum (of the people) putaret evadere." The Dea (S)Dirona, found on the cippus at Sainte-Fontaine in 1751,<sup>2</sup> and frequently mentioned by the side of Apollo,<sup>3</sup> is presumably a similar personage.

If now we turn to Holder,<sup>4</sup> we find the goddess *Dēvōna* associated prominently with three fountains in Gaul: (1) Cahors, where the name was given the Fontaine des Chartreux; (2) Bordeaux, where it is latinized to *Dīvōna*,<sup>5</sup> and (3) Divonne in the *dép. Ain, arrond. Gex*. According to Holder, *Dianna* = *Divonne-Fontaine, dép. Yonne(?)*, and *Diona*, from which *La Vione* developed, are presumably the same name.

In the form *Dibona* it occurs in the highly interesting inscription published by Jullian in the *Revue celtique* (1898) and recently again by Mr. Nicholson.<sup>6</sup> The inscription, which is Pictavian, "is engraved on two sides of a leaden tablet . . . found in 1887 in a well at Rom, about thirty-eight kilometers southwest of Poitiers. In the same well were fifteen similar tablets, but uninscribed. M. Jullian says:<sup>7</sup> 'C'était l'usage, dans l'antiquité gréco-romaine, de confier non seulement à des tombes, mais à la mer, aux fleuves et même aux sources des puits les tablettes adressées aux divinités infernales et sur lesquelles les dévots avaient tracé leurs souhaits ou leurs exécutions'." The translation, according to Mr. Nicholson, runs:

## 1

For thought's love, ever-continuing Caticatona, to-servants [of thine] be flow-strong; since servants [-of-thine] are-going-round.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de gloria confessorum*, chap. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Bertrand, *Relig. des Gaulois*, fig. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Revue celtique*, IV, p. 6, and Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, s. v. *Dēvōna*: "abgeleitet von *deivo-s* gott. 'die göttliche, glänzende.'" See Roscher, *op. cit.*, p. 1002: "Diana ist ursprünglich zwar nicht Mondgöttin, aber Lichtgöttin gewesen und als solche weiter Schützerin u. Patronin der Fruchtbarkeit im Pflanzenreich, Tierreich und unter den Menschen."

<sup>5</sup> "An lat. *divos* angelehnte Form."

<sup>6</sup> *Celtic Researches*, London, 1904, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>7</sup> This view is upheld by Bertrand who says (*op. cit.*, p. 195): "Ces divinités sont gallo-romaines, assimilées ou assimilables aux divinités du panthéon grec et latin."

Be gracious, Dibona. With-this, goddess kind! With-this, pure one! with-this, joyous-one! Sueio is going-round: with-this, maiden continual! his servant Ponti-dunna [daughter-] of-Vouso(s).

## 2

Swell! we pray: today forthstretch thee, today forthstretch thee, to this beloved tribute!

We-two drink at this thy-own well: thee have-we-loved—forthstretch! Going-round daily at mid-day, "Swell!" we pray:

For this tribute, Imona, to-[thy-] servants be outreachi[ng] qu[ic]k.

Thus we have (1) an invocation by an unknown man and his female servant to a well-goddess, who is called (2) Caticatona, Dibona, or Imona, for (3) an increase of water, accompanied by (4) their daily procession around the well at noon. With the *Yvain* in mind—cf. especially, previous article, p. 273—we seem to be on familiar ground. The inscription is dated about the third century A. D. (not earlier than 293); that is, in Roman not Celtic<sup>1</sup> times, though it may, of course, represent a Celtic survival. Caticatōnā, apparently meaning "very white," is equally applicable, says Mr. Nicholson, to a village or a fountain goddess; Dībonā is Ausonius' fountain-deity Divona, corresponding to Dēvona; and Imōnā (cf. Lat. *imus*, "deep-dwelling") is another name of the same divinity.

The last name, I believe, gives us an important clue. Unless I am quite mistaken it is preserved in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Imâne von der Beafontâne*. Martin<sup>2</sup> says "*Imâne* ist wohl eine der *Pucelles as puits*." Her French name would be *Imaine* (cf. *fontâne* = *fontaine*). The passage where she is mentioned is found at the beginning of Bk. III:<sup>3</sup>

"zwêne ritter unde ein magt  
dâ riten hiute morgen.  
diu frouwe fuor mit sorgen:  
mit sporn si vaste ruorten,  
die die juncfrouwen fuorten."  
ez was Meljahkanz  
den ergâhte Karnahkarnanz

<sup>1</sup> The fact that the inscription is in Pictavian does not, however, prove that it refers to a Celtic custom. Cf. Jullian's remark.

<sup>2</sup> *Parzival*, II, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> 125, 15.

mit strite er im die frouwen nam:  
 diu was dà vor an freuden lam.  
 sie hiez Imâne  
 von der Beàfontâne.

In other words, two knights, one of whom is familiar to us as Meleaganz (cf. *Charrete*, *passim*; *Yvain*, vs. 4742) are contending over this lady of the fountain, Imâne or originally Imona.

All of this was unknown to me in 1905. But at that time I did suggest tentatively that there might be a connection between Laudine de Landuc and Ydain de Landuc of the sparrow-hawk adventure in *Durmart li Gallois*,<sup>1</sup> which showed where the juncture of the fairy-mistress and the fountain themes lay. In *Erec* the sparrow-hawk incident takes place at Lalut,<sup>2</sup> not unlike Landuc. In *Yvain* the Castle of Ill Adventure in a way repeats the *Joie de la Cour* episode of the *Erec*. And Laudunet, the father of Laudine,<sup>3</sup> who hails from Landuc, is king of a red city—a Celtic otherworld abode. My point was that Laudine, by being the object of a combat, thus became assimilated to the fairy-mistress theme. The fact that we possess an independent fountain-combat, in which Imâne bears witness to its primitive character, is an argument in favor of my former hypothesis.

To return now to our Gallo-Roman fountain of Imona or Dibona—what light, if any, does it throw on the *Yvain*? It lacks the storm, and the goddess does not appear to be in need of defense since no combat is even suggested. On the other hand, it is possible that Crestien's haughty patroness put some story about Dibona or one of her congeners into the poet's hands, especially if it could be shown that she was versed in the folklore of her mother's—Eleanor's—home; for Poitou was a region where Celtic and Roman customs may have long survived.<sup>4</sup> But we are not compelled to assume—in order to understand the nature of Crestien's source—that he made use of this particular fountain-tradition, any more than we need to produce a specifically Gallic Dibona myth to see that our romance and the Italic story have very striking elements in common. The mere existence of the Dibona cult, the frequent occurrence of such names as Divonne, etc., the

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Stengel, vss. 2005 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Vss. 393 ff. and 6249 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Yvain*, vss. 2151-53.

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. Grande encyclopédie*, s. v. "Poitiers."

fact that the inhabitants of Gaul worshiped Diana,<sup>1</sup> the precise references to her worship at Evreux in 1080, and earlier at Trèves,<sup>2</sup> the inscriptions bearing her name and its phonetic similarity to Dibona, besides the resemblance of cult—this, it seems to me, is ample testimony to estimate the approximate basis of Crestien's fountain-tale. It sprang from a nature-cult of the kind celebrated on the Rom tablet or of that elaborated in the Diana myth.<sup>3</sup> So much our evidence seems to me to prove, and I do not see how circumstantial evidence, and our evidence on the *Yvain* has never been other than circumstantial, can prove more.

Furthermore, at present it is best to assume that our romance incorporates a Gallo-Roman—and not an insular Celtic—cult. The only insular Celtic parallel we have is the elaborate story of the *Gilla Decair*,<sup>4</sup> which to our knowledge exists in no MS previous to

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my previous article, and references below.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Eccles. Francorum*, VIII, 15: "Deinde territorium Trevericarum urbis expetiti, et in quo nunc estis monte, habitaculum quod cernitis proprio labore construxi. Reperi tamen hic Dianae simulacrum, quod populus hic ineredulus quasi deum adorabat," etc. Trèves here is plainly the modern Trier. There is, however, a Trèves in Anjou between Saumur and Angers, the *Trebes* near which was the *lac de Diane* of the *Merlin*; cf. first article, p. 275; also Brugger, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXIII (1908), pp. 172, 181. Evreux is just south of Rouen, and Amiens, the diocese of St. Eloi (cf. below), is north of Paris. As for the fountain-cult, we have Rom near Poitiers, Bordeaux and Cahors to the east-southeast of Bordeaux. North-northeast of Cahors is Tulle where the Lunade (cf. below) was celebrated.

<sup>3</sup> For the distribution of oriental (Roman) cults in Gaul, see especially: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments de Mithra*, I, pp. 340-89, and C. H. Moore, *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XXXVIII (1907), p. 140.

Professor F. M. Warren calls my attention to Vacandard's "L'Idolâtrie en Gaule au VI<sup>e</sup> et au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Rev. des ques. hist.*, LXV, pp. 424-55. I reproduce from it the following citations taken from the *Vita Eligii*, lib. II, chap. xv, in Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, LXXXVII, col. 528, 529: "Qu'aucun chrétien n'observe quel jour il sort de chez lui, ni quel jour il y entre, car Dieu a fait tous les jours . . . que nul ne croie aux devineresses et ne s'assoie pour écouter leurs chants, car ce sont des œuvres diaboliques; que nul, à la Saint-Jean, ou aux autres fêtes de saints, aux solstices, ne pratique les danses, les sauteries, etc.; que nul n'invoque aut Neptunum, aut Orcum, aut Dianam, aut Minervam, aut Genisium, aut caetera, hujusmodi ineptia credere. . . . Que nul n'allume des flambeaux ni ne fasse des vœux au pied des temples, fana, auprès des pierres, des fontaines, des arbres, des enclos, ou dans les carrefours. . . . Que nul n'invoque le soleil et la lune comme des dieux et ne jure par eux, car ce sont des créatures de Dieu. . . . Laissez là les fontaines et coupez les arbres qu'on appelle sacrés; défendez de faire ces images de pieds que l'on place aux embranchements des routes, et partout où vous en trouverez, jetez-les au feu. Quelle tristesse de voir que, si ces arbres, près desquels de malheureux gens font des vœux, viennent à tomber, on n'ose les rapporter à la maison pour en faire du feu. Et combien grande est la folie des hommes qui rendent un culte à un arbre insensible et mort, et qui méprisent les commandements de Dieu!"

Nothing could show more clearly to what extent the cult of the fountain-, tree-, and moon-goddess was still alive in the north of Gaul (diocese of Amiens) at the beginning of the seventh century of our era. On Diana, see especially pp. 450-53. On Janus, her compeer according to Frazer (see below), consult p. 447.

<sup>4</sup> *Ivain*, p. 104, and above.



the eighteenth century, though the version may be as early as 1630. But the *Gilla Decair* has such remarkable agreements with the completed *Yvain* that to deny the influence of a version of the latter upon it requires an effort of the imagination, especially as there is an eighteenth-century Irish *Yvain*, the *Echtra Rídire na Leoman* in Trinity College, Dublin.<sup>1</sup> And granting that to be a matter of opinion, incapable of proof in one direction or the other, surely no one will deny that it is impossible to take an eighteenth-century MS as our sole testimony of what may have occurred before or during the twelfth century. Yet we should be doing precisely this, if we accepted the *Gilla Decair* as proof of the insular Celtic origin of our fountain-tale. On the other hand, we have the Imona-cult persisting in *Parzival* and an identification of Diana with the Lady of the Lake in the *Prose Lancelot*, which, together with the relationship of Lunete and Niniane in the *Livre d'Artus* and of Diana and Niniane in the *Merlin*, shows that even as late as the thirteenth century it was possible in France to identify a fountain-story with the Diana theme.<sup>2</sup>

The cult of Dibona (Imona) as found near Poitiers in the third or fourth century plainly belonged to the kind of cult which Frazer considers in his *Golden Bough*. The Rom tablet appeals to the goddess to send forth her waters. Thus Dibona is a water goddess, but like Diana and Juppiter she probably is a fire-deity, too. In early rites the two functions are commonly united; moreover, how else explain the line:

"Going round daily at mid-day,"

unless we take it to refer to her capacity as the mid-day demon.<sup>3</sup> We find it again in *Yvain*, vss. 410-12:

Espoir si fu tierce passee  
Et pot estre pres de midi  
Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Zimmer, *Gött. gelch. Anzeige*, 1890, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> See my article in *Modern Philology*, III, p. 275; also the *Prose Lancelot*, 1520 ed., fol. 2d, and Gaston Paris and Ulrich, *Merlin*, I, p. lxviii; II, p. 145; as well as Sommer, *Merlin*, p. 222; Löseth, *Tristan en prose*, p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 315; Münnhardt, *Antike Wald- u. Feldkulte*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin, 1904, I, chap. iii: "Die Baumseele als Vegetationsdemon," and Gruppe, *op. cit.*, § 264, "Baumfetische."



More recently Frazer remarks: "The difference between these deities was of old merely superficial, going little deeper than the names, and leaving practically unaffected the essential functions of the god." These were concerned with the dependence of vegetation upon heat and moisture, sunshine and rain. The tree-spirit, Diana Nemorensis or Juppiter Arborator, embodied the two properties upon which vegetable, and indirectly human, life depended. And their creative act was symbolized in the mating of Juppiter with Juno, Diana with Dianus (or Janus).<sup>1</sup> The priest of Nemi represents no other than this consort, the *rex nemorensis*, and he is slain in the bloom of youth and succeeded by the slayer in order that Nature may not suffer. Herein lay the deeper meaning of the defense of Diana's lake and grove.<sup>2</sup>

It is surprising, as I pointed out in 1905, to what a large extent this situation is reproduced in Crestien's romance.

1. The rain-making device; cf. also the fire-demon traits.
2. The union of goddess and defender.
3. The defense of spring and tree.
4. The death of the first defender.
5. The rapid selection of his assailant as the next defender.<sup>3</sup>

The present material bears out this interpretation; in the Dibona cult and in the *perron*-incident associated with the Roman Juppiter. In the mediaeval form the latter feature seems to be characteristic of Broceliande.<sup>4</sup> Scholarly opinion has been somewhat divided as to Crestien's relationship to the Armorican fountain.<sup>5</sup> A verbal correspondence to Wace's *Roman de Rou* (vss. 6418 ff.) made it appear for a moment that Crestien had merely developed a hint from his contemporary. Even in that event we may assume that the *perron*-incident is an Armorican tradition, for the many references to Broceliande speak in favor of a folk-tradition independent of literary transmission.<sup>6</sup> So that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the *Dionas* in the *Merlin*; E. Brugger, *op. cit.*, pp. 154, 174.

<sup>2</sup> Frazer's works, *The Golden Bough*<sup>3</sup>, *Lectures on the Early History of Kingship*, and *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, treat the question fully; cf. indices.

<sup>3</sup> *Moderna Philology*, III, 274, 275.

<sup>4</sup> Bérenton in Brittany.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Iwain*, chap. vii.

<sup>6</sup> Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxxi, says: "Was nun unsere Sturmquelle betrifft, so ist aus der wörtlichen Entsprechung zwischen Wace und dem späteren Iwain mit Sicherheit zu schliessen, dass Kristian sich di-selbe aus Wace geholt hat." See, however, Brown, *Iwain*, p. 23. Obviously Crestien may have known Wace and the Bérenton tradition as well. Moreover, Foerster

whether Crestien was here influenced by Wace or not, the Armorican "perron-storm-story" apparently existed in a separate popular form. Thus it is probable that Crestien (or a predecessor) identified a developed fountain-myth with the Armorican fountain, whose curious property was widely known in his day. The medium of identification may have been the storm, this would agree with the fountain-lady's primitive function as a vegetation deity and also include the idea of protection against intruders; but its sudden violent character must be mainly due to the magic *perron*<sup>1</sup> itself, and in the folk-tradition of Bérenton I find no mention of Crestien's tree, though the well-known passage in Maury's *Histoire* states that "la terre et les biens étans en ycelle en sont arousez et moult leur proufite."<sup>2</sup> As I have previously said the *märchenhafte Gestalt*<sup>3</sup> of the Giant Herdsman represents a *motif* originally distinct from the fountain theme,<sup>4</sup> as its absence from Arthur's fountain visit shows. The Giant Herdsman, in my opinion—and I am here following Brown—belongs to the Celtic Fairy Mistress tale, which by Crestien (or possibly his predecessor) was interwoven with the fountain myth.

On the contrary, the "wonderful tree" (vss. 412, 460, 807) has its roots in the original theme.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the tree logically antedates the fountain, for strictly speaking it is the *raison d'être* of the situation in which the story began.<sup>6</sup> But unquestionably it may have been adorned with traits borrowed from the Brendan legend, for that is in line with story-development. In the "type," however, the defender incorporated for the time being the tree-spirit; he played the part of the tree-god. "We conclude,"<sup>7</sup> says

is not justified in claiming that Crestien is responsible for the storm simply because Wace and the passage in Maury's *Histoire* "blos Regen kennen," since that is a mere detail which may be due to attenuation of the storm and, as Baist, *loc. cit.*, has shown, Crestien could not have evolved the whole first part of his romance out of Wace's description. Nevertheless Wace may have furnished a hint; cf. previous study, p. 269; he mentions the *perron*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Foerster<sup>2</sup>, p. xxvi; the chevalier Pontus who "fit ses armes" at Bellenton is a classical figure. See also P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, II, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Baist, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> It can, however, also be brought into connection with the tree-cult. This is done by Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 117, where he refers directly to the Giant Herdsman.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*; Mannhardt, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Vs. 413: Quant l'arbre et la chapele vi.

<sup>7</sup> *Kingship*, pp. 283 ff.

Frazer, "that at Nemi the King of the Wood personated the oak-god Juppiter and mated with the oak-goddess Diana in the sacred grove." Now the tree in *Yvain* is not an oak but a pine. Yet that might be a local characteristic in no way affecting its nature as a sacred tree. In the parallel Egyptian cult the pine is the incorporation of Osiris:

A pine-tree having been cut down, the center was hollowed out, and with the wood thus excavated an image of Osiris was made, which was then buried like a corpse in the hollow of the tree. It is hard to imagine how the conception of a tree tenanted by a personal being could be more plainly expressed.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise in Rome at the great spring festival of Cybele and Attis a pine (sacred to Attis) "was cut in the woods and brought into the sanctuary of Cybele, where it was treated as a great divinity."<sup>2</sup> It may seem a far cry from the Phrygian Attis and the Egyptian Osiris to the mediaeval French *Yvain*, yet it is known that the worship of the Magna Mater,<sup>3</sup> the Asiatic goddess of fertility, was carried by Roman civilization not only into Gaul but into Celtic Britain. Her male counterpart and associate was Attis. Gregory of Tours refers to her in the *Liber de gloria confessorum*, chap. lxxvii: the people of Autun used to carry her about in a cart for the good of the fields and the vineyards.<sup>4</sup>

The tamarisk and the sycamore (cf. this tree in Old French), however, are also sacred to Osiris, and it is worth recording, as throwing light on the evolution of the tree-incident in *Yvain*, that in a sepulcher at How (Diapolis Parva) a tamarisk is depicted as overshadowing the tomb of Osiris, while a bird is perched among the branches with the significant legend "the soul of Osiris," "showing that the spirit of the dead god was believed to haunt

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, p. 276; Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Giessen, 1903); Plumpton, *Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in France* (London, 1810), III, 187 (cf. *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 157, 158) mentions a Breton tale in which Merlin's mistress incloses him in a tree; some surmise that it is on a little island called Sein. Cf. the fig-tree of Fécamp with the blood of Christ in it.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 166.

<sup>3</sup> Adopted by the Romans in 204 B. C. According to Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 131, the taurobolium was introduced into Gaul at Lugdunum (Lyons) in 160 A. D.; see *ibid.*, p. 137, for places where Dendrophori are attested.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Frazer, *Adonis*, p. 176; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 130; Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, vss. 1463, 1466.

his sacred tree."<sup>1</sup> I mention this fact for what it seems to me to be worth here; namely, as indicating the pertinence of the tree-incident, including the "singing-birds," to our fountain-tale. In addition, the threatened burning of Lunete at the stake (cf. *Modern Philology*, III, p. 275, for my argument) is, when we admit that Lunete symbolizes the tree-spirit, appropriate to the same category of primitive custom.<sup>2</sup> It was an almost universal custom to burn the tree-spirit in effigy, a practice which survives in the bonfires of St. John's Eve, the date of Arthur's visit to Laudine, and the time when Merlin sought out his love Niniane by the fountain in the beautiful orchard.<sup>3</sup>

Thus the evolution of the *Yvain* presents itself to us somewhat as follows:<sup>4</sup> (a) A Gallic fountain-cult, probably associated with a sacred tree or grove. Cf. Renel, *Religions de la Gaule*, pp. 153 ff., and especially Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, *passim*. (b) An etiological myth based on this cult, probably under the influence of a Roman myth in a form similar to the Diana tale. If not under its direct influence, then at least early assimilated to it. (c) The combination, or perhaps confusion through the incident of the combat in behalf of the lady, of this theme with the Celtic fairy-mistress *motif*<sup>5</sup>—presumably by the twelfth-century roman-

<sup>1</sup> On the sacred-tree worship in Gaul, see above, note.

<sup>2</sup> See O. Gruppe, *Handbuch der griech. Mythologie*, p. 1530; Frazer, *Golden Bough*<sup>2</sup>, III, p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Philology*, III, p. 276.

<sup>4</sup> I expect to treat the *Yvain* again in an extended study I am now making on the Grail.

<sup>5</sup> See the very interesting treatment of Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Since Foerster<sup>3</sup>, p. xxxvi, has recently conceded a point by taking the Iblis episode of the *Lanzelet* (ed. Hahn, Frankfurt, 1845) as a point of departure, it is necessary to refer to it here, especially since Golther has expressed (*Zeit. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXVII, Part II, p. 36) a preference for this view over that of Brown. The Iblis episode belongs to the general category, which Brown investigates, of the fairy-mistress tale, but with the emphasis on the "liberation" motive (cf. Ehrismann, *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. deut. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXX, pp. 14 ff.). This motive is found in *Yvain* but in the episode of the "Pesme Aventure" (v-s. 5107-5811). In *Erec Crestien* uses both it and the "invitation" motive—in the "Joie de la Cour." Now, in my opinion, the Laudine episode, which constitutes the kernel of the romance, is not in itself a fairy-mistress story at all. For these reasons: (a) Neither the "liberation" nor the "invitation" motive are found in it. *Yvain* goes to the fountain to avenge his cousin ("J'irai vostre honte vangier," vs. 589); Laudine does not need to be liberated. Moreover, not having summoned him, Laudine is not in love with *Yvain*. In fact, all the advances are made by *Yvain* and Lunete, and it is not until the latter persuades her that her fountain needs a defender ("Mes me dites, si ne vos griet, Vostre terre qui deffandra," vs. 1614, 1615) and that *Yvain* is a better defender than her dead lord ("meillor, se vos le volez prandre," vs. 1610) that Laudine finally considers him. (b) The "gong" which announces the fairy-mistress combat does not serve this purpose in *Yvain* (vs. 217), and is wholly extraneous to

cers themselves, of whom Crestien was one. (d) Crestien's interpretation of this material in terms of his day: a schoolman's attempt to psychologize on conduct.<sup>1</sup>

In the light of the preceding material my former suggestion that Lunete and Laudine equate (la) Diana, and that the Dameisele Sauvage equates Silvanus or Silvana, seems to me to hold as a general proposition. But I should no longer claim that Laudine is actually a *form* of Ladiane, whether celticized or not. It would be easier, indeed, to discern an altered La Divōnā (from which we have also la Diiona) in Laudine; but even that is merely a guess, hence of no particular value. But as regards Lunete,<sup>2</sup> it seems to me the very form of the name is suggestive, for if we follow the bent of our theory we think at once of Diana as the luminary of the night in whose keeping the invisible-making ring is singularly well placed.<sup>3</sup> As regards the Dameisele Sauvage, she is clearly

the main story, evidently being brought in when the fountain-tale and fairy-mistress episodes were combined, as I believe, by Crestien himself.

As for the parallel which Foerster, p. xli, adduces from the *Huon de Bordeaux*, that is clearly an imitation (reminiscence) of our romance. See Voretzsch, *Epische Studien*, I, p. 138, "So erweist sich dies Abenteuer in sehr wesentlichen stücken als eine reminiscenz an Ivains erlebnisse im schloss bei der wunderquelle, daneben hat vermutlich der *Guiglois* noch mitgewirkt." Lunete's part is taken by Sebile; see below, p. 163, n. 1.

But I wish to point out that Esclados, as the Red Knight, has a parallel in the knight of the Noirespine of Türlin's *Crône* (vss. 3356-4885). This is also the main incident of the *Lai de l'Épine* (ed. by R. Zenker, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XVII, pp. 240 ff.): here the combat, like Arthur's visit in *Yvain*, occurs on St. John's eve.

Cele dist: Au gué de l'espine  
A la nuit de la Saint-Johan  
En avient plus que en tot l'an.—Vss. 188-90.

The *Yvain* itself, vs. 4705, has an episode about the daughters of the *Sire de la Noire Espine*.

<sup>1</sup>To this stage belong the neo-classic traces in the romance. For an account of them see *Kritischer Jahresbericht d. rom. Phil.*, VIII, Heft 2, p. 313. Most interesting is the parallel to the *Roman de Thèbes*, vss. 447-49; cf. Van Hamel, *Rom. Forschungen*, XXIII, pp. 911-18. It seems plausible that this contributed to induce Crestien to develop the dramatic situation in Laudine's forced acceptance of the new defender of the fountain. That, however, is another way of saying that the fountain-episode contained the theme which Crestien had the genius to find in it and to develop.

<sup>2</sup>Unfortunately I have not at hand the *Mémoires de l'Institut de France*, XXXII (1891), 2d part. Professor Warren kindly informs me that the publication contains an article by Deloche on the *Procession dite de la Lunade et les feux de la St. Jean à Tulle* (Corrèze). Apparently the procession takes place after sun-down on St. John's Eve, and the people carry a dressed-up statue of St. John from the cathedral through the town into the fields, "in the midst of bonfires." The author connects the ceremony with the Gallo-Roman worship of the moon. Cf. the sermon of St. Éloi mentioned above.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. the damsel from whom Peredur in the *Mabinogion* receives the invisible-making stone. Also Crestien's *Charrete*, vs. 2348; *Merlin* (ed. Paris and Ulrich), II, p. 57, and P. Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, III, p. 123; IV, p. 80. Further, Gaidoz, *Études de myth. gauloise*, pp. 8, 19. Wilmette, *L'Évolution du roman français aux environs de 1150*, p. 24, thinks the ring was taken from the *Roman de Troie* (vss. 1676 ff.)

a woodland creature.<sup>1</sup> But why not then one of the *Silvana* with which the Gallic woods were peopled (cf. the inscriptions)? She plays a curious rôle in Crestien (vs. 1618). Except for Arthur's visit she might have been omitted. Yet Arthur does not meet the Hospitable Host or the Giant Herdsman and so she heralds his coming. Have we not here a memory of the time when the two other rugged figures still inhabited Celtic lands and she held a broader sway? And does she not linger in our tale more or less in spite of the literal-minded Crestien?

For the above reasons it has seemed to me possible to trace the Lady of the Fountain back to small beginnings—in a widespread nature-worship of primitive man. The *Yvain* centers about a fountain, from the necessity of whose preservation the story sprang. The most notable and most widely known fountain-deity we have is the Arician Diana. With her myth the *Yvain* has more points in common than with any similar story now extant. Whether it had an early association with it is impossible to tell. It appears more likely that the *Yvain* arose in connection with some Gallic fountain<sup>2</sup> and was then developed according to a situation similar to the Italic type. If there was any immediate borrowing, that may have occurred at a comparatively late date—for we know a Diana cult<sup>3</sup> was current in Gaul. But on that very account it

<sup>1</sup>See especially Mannhardt<sup>2</sup>, *op. cit.*, p. 112, §10, *Wild-Leute: Bilmon, Salvadegh, Salvanel in Wälsch-Tirol*: "Die entsprechende weibliche Form lässt sich bereits im 10. Jahrhundert aus Burchard von Worms *Decretensammlung*, p. 198d (*Myth.* I, XXXVIII) erweisen: *Credidisti quod quidam credere solent, quod sint agrestes feminae, quas silvaticas vocant, quas dicunt esse corporeas et quando voluerint ostendant se suis amatoribus et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse et item quando voluerint abscondant se et evanescent.*" Cf. Diana and Faunus in the *Huth Merlin*, below.

<sup>2</sup>I want to call attention here to the suggestion of Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, p. 63, that the name *Yvain* (*Iwein*) can be derived from *Eugenius* (see also Zimmer, *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, p. 527); and the further connection he sees between the latter form and the "Gaulish" proper name *Esugenus*—the offspring of *Esus*. For *Esus*, whom the Gauls identified with the Roman *Silvanus* (cf. Mowat, *Bull. épigraph.*, I, pp. 62-68)—this opinion seems to have prevailed, see Renel, *op. cit.*, p. 321—is depicted on certain bas-reliefs as a wood-cutter chopping down an oak. According to Solomon Reinach, *Rev. celtique*, 1897, pp. 137 f., *Esus*, like the *Taranis* mentioned by Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i, 444, in connection with Diana: "Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro Teutatos horrensque foris altaris Esus et Taranis Scythicae non mitior ara Dianae," is not a pan-Celtic divinity but peculiar to the peoples living between the Seine and the Loire. I observe, moreover, that M. Renel states with respect to the tree-cutting: "Ce mythe n'a pas encore reçu d'explication satisfaisante." Since a dog is at times found associated with him, as with *Silvanus*, Rhys' hypothesis seems not improbable; though I am incapable of judging the question without further study.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance* (Boston, 1903), pp. 276 ff.

may be inherent in the story. All I have sought to establish, however, is that the kernel of the *Yvain* consists in the Defense of the Lady of the Fountain,<sup>1</sup> the theme of the Arician Diana-myth. Despite the lapse of time, and the successive alterations

<sup>1</sup> The fusion of Celtic and Roman material, of course, gains further support from the episode of "the lion." Mr. O. M. Johnston, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXI, 157-66, makes out a clear case for assuming that the oriental tale of the *Grateful Animals* and the legend of Androcles influenced the story as Crestien relates it. Cf. Cumont, *Monuments*, II, p. 434, for an altar at Trèves possibly dedicated to Hecate, on which a lion, a serpent (?), and trees figure, besides busts of Sol and Luna.

Various scholars have also hinted that the German *Wolfdietrich* contains a parallel to our romance. The character of the Raube Else at once suggests the exacting fairy-mistress. I enumerate the main features of the Else episode from Holzmann's edition (Heidelberg, 1865), stanzas 494 ff. (1) While *Wolfdietrich* is resting near a fire in the woods (2) a hairy-creature, *die ruhe Else*, approaches him and proffers her love. She had been seeking him *willenglichen siden jar*. (3) He rejects her, whereupon she enchants him so that he runs twelve miles through the woods until he meets her again *under einem boume*. (4) Here she repents her offer, and, as he refuses again, renders him insane so that he wanders about for half a year taking his *spise von der erden* (see *Yvain's* madness). (5) Finally, since God threatens to destroy her in three days by his thunder (*donre*)—cf. *Yvain*, vss. 3595 ff.—she removes the enchantment. Having accepted baptism, she bathes in a fountain whence she returns *die schönste über alle lant*. Then the hero weds her.

In the next episode, dealing with *Wolfdietrich's* contest with Ortnid, a linden-tree is described beneath which no one may linger without being attacked (stanza 573). On the tree birds are singing:

Ein jeglicher vogel sang sin wise gen des moien blut.

Later on (stanza 1030) *Wolfdietrich* comes to a fine castle on every pinnacle except one of which there was a head. There he has to win the love of the beautiful Marpoli or di; five hundred had thus lost their lives. The adventure begins with a r-past under a metal linden-tree with birds on it; these are made to sing by means of a bellows. On this incident, see K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI, pp. 337-69. And on the tree-spirit element, see Mannhardt, *op. cit.*, pp. 109 ff.

In connection with our study it should be noted further that the *Huth Merlin* (i. e., the so-called *Suite-Merlin*), II, p. 145, tells an interesting tale of Diana and Faunus, à propos of the *Lac de Diane* (near Trèves, see Brugger, *Zeit. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXIII, p. 177): (1) Faunus, the son of a king, loves Diana because of her beauty and her skill as a huntress. (2) She constructs a *manoir* by the side of the lake for him. (3) Thus things continue for two years until she falls in love with Felix, another hunter but of poor lineage, a *chevalier par sa prouesse* (p. 146). (4) Near the lake is a tomb filled with healing water; thither Faunus, wounded by a wild animal (cf. Acteon, Adonis, etc.), comes to be cured. (5) Diana, in the meantime, has filled the tomb with molten lead, whereby Faunus perishes. (6) Felix, learning of this act of treachery, seizes her *par les treaches et li caupa le chief*. The story is a good illustration of the persistence of the idea of Diana's successive lovers.

Finally, inasmuch as the *Vulgate Merlin* (see Sommer ed., pp. 220, 221) speaks of Diana as *la seraine de Cecille*, which according to Brugger was corrupted into *la reine de Sezile* (*loc. cit.*), I subjoin an outline of the presumably late *Eledus et Serene*, described by Suchier in *Zeitsch. rom. Phil.*, XXI, pp. 112 ff. (1) Serene, though promised to Maugrier, is loved by Eledus, who gradually wins her affection by deeds of great prowess. (2) She has a hand-maiden called Sebille, who is versed in the science of love (p. 119). (3) Eledus undertakes an adventure against Cuizelot on an island; for this adventure Serene gives him a ring set with a sapphire. Led by a stag, Eledus first kills a lion with a golden crown, and then conquers his adversary. (4) He returns to court and crowns the king with the lion's crown on St. John's Day. (5) Now Serene invents the rumor of Maugrier's infidelity and thus brings about her own marriage with Eledus. (6) One day while hunting, Eledus sees a beautiful lady in a meadow who asks him whether he has ever seen a more beautiful one than herself. He affirms he knows one a hundred times more beautiful. Nevertheless, she asks him to



the story may have suffered, this theme is still clearly discernible in Crestien's poem, pre-eminently in the conception of Laudine as the antithesis of herself, as

Cele qui prist  
Celui qui son seignor ocist.

W. A. NITZE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

enjoy her love. (7) As he refuses, she threatens that in *xv* *jours* he will lose her whom he adores. (8) Then follows a long combat with Maugrier in the midst of which the text suddenly breaks off.

The situation is doubtless the Fairy Mistress theme, though this fact has not to my knowledge been mentioned. But Serene and Sebile are presumably not Celtic but Roman. Suchier refers us to the *Saga* of Clarus and Serena and to Straparola, IV, 3. Serene and Sebile, I take it, like Laudine and Lanete, are merely doublets. Sebile is the heroine of a similar contest-story in the *Liere d'Artus* (Freymond, pp. 112 ff.), where Sagromor and Baruc are the principals. She also occurs in *Huon de Bordeaux* (see Voretzsch, *op. cit.*), where she is the hero's cousin. She is presumably the *sibylla*, but could she not also be an echo of the goddess Cybele (whose cult existed in Gaul, see above)? Thus a parallel to Diana who is called *la seraine*? Unfortunately I have not at hand Settegast, *Antike Quellen im altfranz. Merowingerzyklus* (Leipzig, 1907), where the oriental Cybele-story is proposed as a source of the Yvain; cf. *Zeitschrift rom. Phil.* XXXII (1908), p. 416. Sebile (the *sibylla*) occurs in the *chanson de geste Mainet*; cf. *Romania*, IV, pp. 305-37.



### "I SING OF A MAIDEN THAT IS MAKELESS"

In his interesting volume on the *Popular Ballad*, Professor Gummere writes (p. 116) that the "ballads of lyric tendency have repetition, but not of the incremental and dramatic kind," adding, "It occurs, however, as if 'dancing for joy,' in the pretty fifteenth-century carol of *Christ and His Mother*," that is, the well-known song beginning "I sing of a maiden," from MS Sloane 2593. This song consists of two stanzas (or, if written in long lines, couplets) of the usual carol type, separated by three others containing the incremental repetition, the whole forming one of the most perfect poems in the language.

Now, it has, I believe, never before been noticed that the thirteenth-century MS, B. 14. 39, at Trinity College, Cambridge, preserves a poem in which the whole of the non-repetitional setting of the fifteenth-century carol appears in substantially the same form but combined with quite different material. For convenience of comparison I print the two poems below, exactly as they stand in the originals, in spite of the bad spelling of the Trinity MS.

Three different views might conceivably be held as to the relation of these two poems. First, it might be denied that there is any direct connection at all, the lines found in both being regarded as no more than traditional thoughts and phrases of religious composition, of which each poem has made use in its own manner. The coincidences are, however, I think, too striking to render this at all likely. Secondly, there is, of course, the possibility that the fifteenth-century poem may really be an old traditional song portions of which were utilized by the more sophisticated thirteenth-century writer. In the absence, however, of all evidence we are clearly not justified in assuming that this was the case. We are, therefore, driven to hold the last view, namely, that two rather striking couplets of the not very remarkable thirteenth-century poem were at a later date deliberately

combined with three other couplets, equally striking but of an altogether different type, to form what is as it stands in the fifteenth-century manuscript a supremely artistic whole.

The introduction of incremental repetition into late ballads of the epic type is a process which Professor Gummere, of course, recognizes; but is it not rather unexpected to find it operative in the lyric as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century?

FROM B.M. MS SLOANE, 2593, FOL. 10<sup>b</sup>

I syng a [*sic*] of a maydē · p<sup>t</sup> is makeles  
kyng of alle kynges · to her' sone che ches

he cā also styлле · p' his mod' was  
as dew in aprylle · p<sup>t</sup> fallyt on p<sup>e</sup> gras

he cam also styлле · to his moderes bowt 5  
as dew in aprille · p<sup>t</sup> fallyt on p<sup>e</sup> flo'

he cam also styлле · p' his mod' lay  
as dew in aprille · p<sup>t</sup> fallyt on p<sup>e</sup> spray

mod' & maydyn · was neu' nō but che 10  
wel may swych a lady · godes mod' be

FROM T.C.C. MS B. 14. 39, FOL. 81<sup>b</sup>

Nu pis fules singet · hand maket hure blis:  
and þat gres up þringet and leued þe ris:  
of on ic wille singen þat is makeles  
þe kind of halle kinges to moder he hire ches

heo his wit uten sunne and wit uten hore 5  
I cumen of kinges cunne of gesses more  
þe louerd of monkinne of hire was yboren  
to bringen us hut of Sunne · elles wue weren for lore

Gab'el hire grette and saide hire aue  
Marie ful of grace · vre lou' be mt þe 10  
þe frut of þire wombe · ibleset mot id be  
þu sal go wit chide for sout ic siget þe

and þare gretinke þat angle hauede ibrouȝt  
he gon to bi þenchen and meinde hire þout  
he saide to þen angle þu may tiden pis 15  
of monnes y mone not y nout iuis

Mayden heo was md childe ·7· Maiden her biforen  
 7· maiden ar sotþent hire chid was iboren  
 Maiden and moder nas neu' non wimon bote he'  
 wel miete þe berigge of godes sune be'

20

I blessed beo þat suete chid 7 þe moder ec'  
 7 þe Suete broste þat hire sone sec'  
 I hered ibe þe time þat such chid uas iboren'  
 þat lesed al of pine þat arre was for lore'

I append a few tentative notes:

2. *leued*, presumably for *leuet* or *leueþ*, formed from *ab. leue*, leaf; *ris*, twig. 4. *kind*,  
 ʔ for *king*. 5. *hore*, dirt. 6. *more*, root. 10. *low'*, i. e., *louerd*, lord, cf. 7. 14. *meinde*,  
 announced. 15. *tiden*, ʔ *tihthen*, think, believe? 16. *y mone*, i. e. *gemæne*, company. *not*, for  
*ne wot*. 18. *ar*, ʔ for *ac* or *eac*, also. *sotþent*, ʔ for *sotþenc*, i. e. *seþþenes*, since. 20. *berigge*,  
 presumably bearer, but the form is not recorded.

W. W. GREG

TRINITY COLLEGE  
 CAMBRIDGE



## THEODULUS: A MEDIAEVAL TEXTBOOK

H. Willert in his note on the *Hous of Fame*, 1227-28,

Ther saugh I than Atiteris  
And of Athenes dan Pseustis,

had the merit of first suggesting that the proper names had their source in the *Ecloga* of Theodulus, in which a shepherd Pseustis and a shepherdess Alithia contend in song, telling in turn stories from the pagan and Christian mythologies.<sup>1</sup> Koch in his review of Willert's book questioned the soundness of this view, because the connection in Chaucer's lines made it appear that, as pipers of all kinds were concerned, it would have to be shown that the persons concerned were distinguished in this respect, in order to make this indebtedness seem probable.<sup>2</sup> Skeat in his edition of the *Minor Poems* of Chaucer made the guess "that Atiteris represents *Tyrtaeus*, and that *Pseustis* is meant for *Thespis*,"<sup>3</sup> a conjecture he repeated in his complete edition of Chaucer, where he considered that Willert's suggestion could only account for Pseustis; "as Atiteris can hardly be Alithia."<sup>4</sup> All these statements apparently were written without a first-hand acquaintance with the poem of Theodulus.

In a communication to the *Athenaeum* for March 1, 1902 (p. 274), Skeat returned to the subject, giving a short analysis of the poem of Theodulus, and finding in Chaucer's line a condensation of the description of Pseustis in the prologue, in the fourth line:

Natus ab Athenis pastor, cognomine Pseustis,

which "being so near the beginning drew Chaucer's attention." He further notes an edition published by W. de Worde, in 1515, one by Pynson, and that of Schwabe of 1773. In the *Athenaeum* for March 15, 1902 (p. 338), W. H. Stevenson, commenting on

<sup>1</sup> *The Hous of Fame* ("Text, Varianten, Anmerkungen"), 1888, p. 42. This indebtedness had already suggested itself to him in 1883, the date of his *Hous of Fame* ("Einleitung und Textverhältniss"), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Engl. Stud.* XV, 412.

<sup>3</sup> *Minor Poems* (1888), 350.

<sup>4</sup> *Works of Chaucer*, III (1894), 299.

Skeat's communication, credited Chaucer with a close acquaintance with the *Ecloga*, acquired in his school-days and noted in general terms the use made of it as a primary schoolbook in mediaeval Europe. The author he refers to as Theodulus, Theodosius, and Theodore, "who is supposed to have flourished between the sixth and ninth or tenth century." The important article of Holthausen published in 1894 on "Chaucer und Theodulus," had unfortunately escaped the attention of these two English scholars, whose investigations are neither so extensive nor satisfactory as his. Accepting the source of "Pseustis" in the *Ecloga*, he rejects the possibility of finding a corrupted form of "Alithia" in any of the varied readings of Chaucer's line ("Atiteris," "an" or "dan Cytherus"), because it would not rhyme with "Pseustis." His suggestion that the line read

Ther saugh I than daun Tityris,

is the more acceptable, as the Vergilian Tityrus<sup>1</sup> who plays on his "tenui avena" (I, 2), is not subject to the same objection postulated by Koch, as Alithia, whose instrument is a harp, not a pipe:

Ad fontem juxta pascebat oves Alithia,  
Virgo decora nimis David de semine regis  
Cujus habens citharam fluvii percussit ad undam (8-10).

Moreover, Holthausen had clearly shown the indebtedness of Chaucer in the *Hous of Fame* to other passages in the *Ecloga*, and suggested that a gloss to the Latin poem was a source of the story of Demophoon and Phyllis in the *Legende of Good Women*.<sup>2</sup> Only so recently, therefore, has modern scholarship added one more book to Chaucer's library, in the work of an author who was generally known and esteemed in mediaeval Europe. An account

<sup>1</sup> Chaucer may not have owed his conception of Tityrus as an accomplished piper to the somewhat blind allusion in the Vergilian line, or to the more suggestive lines in the imitative first *Ecloga* of Nemesianus (1-5); as the statement of Calpurnius, a poet so favored in the Middle Ages, is explicit enough in every way:

(Cor. loq.) Tityrus hanc (i. e., fistulam) habuit, cecinit qui primus in istis  
Montibus Hyblaica modulabili carmina avena.  
(Mel. loq.) Magna petis, Corydon, si Tityrus esse laboras.  
Ille fuit vates sacer et qui posset avena  
Praesonuisse chelyn, blanda cui saepe canenti  
Adluserat ferae, cui substitit advena quercus.  
Quem modo cantantem rutilo spargebat acantho  
Nais et implicitos comabat pectus crines" (*Ecl.* IV, 62-69).

On the popularity of Calpurnius in mediaeval Europe, see bibliography in Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litt.* II, 2, 76.

<sup>2</sup> *Anglia*, XVI, 264-66.

of the wide use of the *Ecloga* for centuries, especially in England, may be at once a contribution to the history of education and of pastoral poetry.

As the poem is now accessible in such an excellent edition as that of Osternacher,<sup>1</sup> one need not analyze the contents before discussing its place in literary history. The literary genre represented by the *Ecloga* was so affected by the learned Carolingian poets of the ninth century,<sup>2</sup> and its meter—leonine hexameters—was so peculiar to the production in verse of writers of the diocese of Rheims,<sup>3</sup> that one finds very acceptable von Winterfeld's suggestion<sup>4</sup> that Theodulus (*θεοῦ δοῦλος*) is nothing but a classical transformation of the Germanic Gottschalk; and that the poem is a work of Gottschalk of Orbais' last years. In one of the poems, assuredly of his composition, the opening lines:

O deus, miseri  
miserere servi,<sup>5</sup>

which return as a refrain for twenty verses, contain an allusion to the Latin form of his name, as evident as is the allusion to the poet's name in the refrain of Donne's "Hymn to God the Father." Gottschalk's interest in, if small acquaintance with, Greek, is shown in the answer of Servatus Lupus to his query on the meaning of certain Greek words,<sup>6</sup> and a Christian Greek name as common as Theodulus he may well have found explained in a bilingual glossary.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Urfahr-Linz, 1902.

<sup>2</sup> W. Meyer v. Speyer, *Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik*, I, 193, 194.

<sup>3</sup> Traube, *Poetae Caroling.*, II, 711.

<sup>4</sup> *Herrigs Archiv*, CXIV, 68, 69. Voigt in 1902 had already suggested the connection between the *Ecloga* and the other Carolingian pastorals.

<sup>5</sup> *Poetae Car.*, III, 729-31. Cf. especially stanzas 2 and 3, and also 724, n.

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *Patrol.*, CXIX, 491.

<sup>7</sup> Although it does not appear among the names glossed in the *Corpus gloss. Lat.*, VII, 347 Gray the poet (*Works of Thomas Gray*, ed. Gosse, I, 361, n.) and Alexander Croke (*An Essay on the Origin, Progress, and Decline of Rhyming Latin Verse*, 1828, 41), cite with confidence as a work of Theodulus a poem "*De contemptu mundi*," commencing:

Pauper amabilis et venerabilis est benedictus,  
Dives inutilis insatiabilis est maledictus.

This bit of misinformation is no doubt due to the title of the editions of the *Auctores octo* used by them being similar to that recorded by Hain, 1913, "*Auctores octo libros subscriptos continentes videlicet Cathonis faceti. Theoduli de contemptu mundi. floreti.*" etc., or one published at Angoulême in 1491 (Hain, 1911): "*Auctores VIII: nempe Catho, Facetus, Theodulus de contemptu mundi, Floretum.*" Croke made use of the edition published at Lyons in 1538 (*loc. cit.*, 38, n. "*Leyden*") of which there is a copy in the Bodleian, unless, indeed

An imitation of the *Ecloga*, entitled *Synodicus*, was written in the second part of the eleventh century by one Warnerius of Basel;<sup>1</sup> another imitation, *Pistilegus*, is only known because it is

the same mistake is made in the *Manuale biblicum* of Goldast, also used by him, of which there is a copy in the same library (cf. Osternacher, *loc. cit.*, 28, 29, Nos. LII, LIV). There is no evidence of what edition Gray used. This poem appears as a separate poem in some manuscripts (Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 5. 6. Schenkl, *Sitzungsber. d. Wiener Ak. Phil.-Hist. Classe*, 136, V, 61; St. John's College, F, 10, *op. cit.*, 137, VIII, 59), and in a number of the editions of *Auctores octo* although it forms one of the *Auctores* with the poem "Chartula nostra tibi," the distinction is made in the title, "Cartule; alias de contemptu mundi" (Pellechet, *Cat. gén. des incunables des bibl. publ. de France*, 1427, 1429, 1431-37); and in the Spanish edition *Libros menores* published at Pamplona in 1499 by Brocar, Theodulus, Facetus, Tobias, and the *Parabolae* of Alain de Lille, are omitted, and according to the statement of the colophon, the poem, "Pauper amabilis," is accounted a separate work (Pellechet, 1439; Haebler, *Bibliographia Iberica del siglo XV*, No. 539). Du Méril (*Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge*, 125, n.), while accepting St. Bernard as the author of "Chartula," and the traditional date of the *Ecloga*, remarks apposite of Croke's attributing "Pauper" to Theodulus: "Evidemment ce rythme dactylique ne peut être du Ve, ni même du Xe siècle." Hauréau regarding "Pauper" as an integral part of "Chartula," attributed the whole poem to Bernard de Morlas, on account of the peculiar meter, dactylics ending in spondee or trochees, because in the *Preface* of what is assuredly his *De contemptu mundi*, Bernard comments on its difficulty, and the rare use that had been made of it (*Not. et Extr.*, XXVII, 2, 34; cf. XXVIII, 2, 365). Meyer in his study of rhymed hexameters (*Sitzungsber. phil.-philol. Classe der Ak. d. Wissenschaften zu München*, 1873, 82) adopting the nomenclature of a commentator of the *Laborintus* of Eberhard, noted that this meter, "Tripartiti dactylis caudati," was common, and that it was especially introduced in pathetic places, among verses of a simpler meter. Does this explain the change of meter in the "Chartula," and the consequent division into two poems? Etienne de Rouen, who prided himself on being a disciple of Bernard in writing and devising difficult meters (Omont, *Etienne de Bec*, 209, 202), in giving some verses in this meter called them "inclinantes" (*Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. Howlett, II, 1775). Grober (*Grundr.*, II, 1, 376) conjectured that Bernard was the first to make use of the meter; but, no one but Hauréau has discussed critically the authorship of "Chartula," and his latest opinion of its authorship was that it was best "ne rien supposer" (*Des poèmes latins attribués à St. Bernard* [1890], 9). One manuscript in attributing it to divine authorship: "Alii dicunt quod fuit missus de coelo per angelum" (ib. 3), has given it the same source as more important works (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 19, n. 47).

<sup>1</sup>Huemer, *Rom. Forsch.*, III, 315; *Wiener Studien*, XIV, 156. Warnerius' other poem, *Paracritus*, which is cited in the *Registrum* of Hugh of Trimberg (ed. Huemer, 542, 550 ff.; cf. *Rom. Forsch.*, III, 355) of which there are a number of MSS (Haupt, *Berichte d. Berl. Ak.*, 1854, 150; Thurot, *Not. et Extr.*, XXII, 2, 116, n. 2; Steinmayer and Sievers, *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, IV, 670; W. Schum, *Beschreibender Verzeichniss der ampton. Handschriften Sammlung zu Erfurt*, 325), may have owed its name to that apparently given to the *Ecloga* in a list of books, found at Hamersleben in the twelfth century: "Paracritum Theodolum cum glossis" (G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, p. 141). The title appears as "Theoduli ecloga sive liber Paradisi" in a Paris MS, B. N. 4930 (Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 21, n. 5), and Amplonian MS (Schum, *op. cit.*, 652). This same title is found in the commentary due to Neckam "Incipit ecloga Theoduli vel Theodori vel Paradisi" (Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 7, n. 1), and given with an explanation in Kacheloven's edition, "titulus istius libri est talis: Ecloga theoduli vel theodori vel paradisi;" "paradisus interpretur ortus deliciarum quod in presenti opusculo tractatur de fidelibus christi" (G. Bauch, *Gesch. des Leipziger Frühhumanismus*, 1899, 33). However, the title "Paradisus" which appears frequently in mediaeval catalogues (*Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral*, Surtees Soc. Publ., VII, 9, 118; *Chronica monast. de Melsa*, ed. Bond, III, xcvi; Charlton, *History of Whitty*, 113; Hearne, *History of Glastonbury*, 141; Omont, *Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen*, IX, 202, 204), is apparently given to a translation of a Byzantine collection of the lives of saints (Krummbacher, *Gesch. d. byzant. Lit.*, 2d ed., 188), with its full title in a catalogue of the library of



mentioned and the first lines cited in the *Registrum multorum auctorum* of Hugh of Trimberg in 1280.<sup>1</sup> About the end of the eleventh century the poem of Theodulus was furnished with a commentary by Bernard of Utrecht.<sup>2</sup> Some fifty years later Bernard Silvester wrote another commentary, if we are to accept the entry in the catalogue of the Amplonian library at Erfurt, drawn up by its owner in 1212: "Commentum Bernhardi Silvestris super Theodulum,"<sup>3</sup> and the more detailed entry taken by John Bale "ex Nordovicensi scriptorum catalogo"—evidently an index of books in the library of the Priory of Norwich,<sup>4</sup> before the dissolution of the monasteries—where he found mention, among the works of Bernard Silvester, of "Expositiones in Aeglogas Theoduli, li. i. 'Domino sacrosancto.'" If the words cited, "Domino," etc., constitute the *Incipit* of the commentary of the first book of the poem, according to its division into three books, found in some manuscripts,<sup>5</sup> it differs essentially from that of

Christ Church, Canterbury, "Vita Eraclydis heremito qui dicitur Paradisus" (M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 47; cf. Oxford, Merton Coll., CXVIII, fol. 243: "Heraclidis Alexandrini Paradisus, sive Liber de vitis SS. Patrum;" cf. L. Delisle, *Nol. et Extr.*, XXXI, 1, 240, 242). Is the entry in the twelfth-century catalogue of the books in St. Peter's Monastery, Salzburg, "Theodulus libellus de VII planetis" (Becker, *op. cit.*, 234), due to a misunderstanding of some such title for the *Ecloga* as is found in the catalogue of the library of Syon Monastery of the early sixteenth century: "Egloga seu Carmon pastorale Theoduli de testimonis de spheris cultis" (*Cat. of the Lib. of Syon Monastery*, ed. M. Bateson, 4) and due perhaps to a confusion of the names of the planets with those of the gods who are mentioned in the *Ecloga* commencing with Saturn and Jupiter?

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 562-69; cf. Huemer, *Wiener Sitzungsber., Phil.-Hist. Classe*, CXVI, 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. litt. de la France*, VIII, 678; cf. Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, 6th ed., II, 134. Couradi Hirsaugiensis, *Dialogus super auctores*, ed. Schepss., 14.

<sup>3</sup> Schum, *op. cit.*, 703. With the supplementary information from Bale one need not be too skeptical about this catalogue entry (cf. Langlois, *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes*, LIV, 235), although one need not accept with Sandys (*Hist. of Classical Scholarship*, I, 515) the confusion by early bibliographers of Bernard Silvester and Ultrajectensis (C. G. Jöcher, *Gelehrten lexikon*, IV, 1115; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Lat.* [1858], VI, 527; cf. I, 218; Ch. Richard, *Nouv. biogr. gén.*, V, 572). There is no indication of a MS of the commentary by Bern. Silv. at the Bibliothèque nationale, mentioned by Jöcher, nor can one identify the MS Bibl. imp. f. l. 946, cited by Richard, although there are a number of MSS containing the commentary of Bern. Ultraj. Cf. J. Frey, *Ueber das mittelalt. Gedicht, "Theoduli ecloga" und den Kommentar des Bernhardus Ultraiectensis* (1904) 8, 13, 14.

<sup>4</sup> And not "The catalogue of the writers of Norwich," as it is rendered by M. S. Morris in *M. L. P.*, XXIII, 605. Bale shortly after his remarks on Norwich cited in the text, goes on: "As much haue I saued both there and in certen other places of Northfolke concerning the authors names and tytles of their workes, as I could."—*The Laboryouse Journey & Serche of John Leylande*, etc., ed. Copinger, 110.

<sup>5</sup> Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, ed. Poole and Bateson, 48.

<sup>6</sup> E. g., a Helmstadt MS (Leyser, *Hist. poetarum med. aev.* 295), an Amplonian MS (Schum, *op. cit.*, 632); a feature of the MSS not noted by Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 9.

Bernard of Utrecht which begins, "Liber aequivoce dicitur; nam liber appellatur pergamenum."<sup>1</sup> Today, unfortunately, one cannot verify the statements of the catalogues, as Bernard's commentary is not found in the extant Amplonian collection,<sup>2</sup> and already in 1549 Bale lamented, "I haue bene also at Norwyche, our second cytie of name, and there all the library monumentes are turned to the use of their grossers, candelmakers, sope sellers and other worldly occupyers."<sup>3</sup> When Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) wrote a *Novus Aesopus*<sup>4</sup> and a *Novus Avianus*<sup>5</sup> and other works for school use,<sup>6</sup> one would expect to find the commentary that appears in a Paris manuscript ascribed to his authorship.<sup>7</sup>

In the latter part of the fourteenth century a Carmelite monk, Stephen Patrington, afterward Bishop of St. David's, known on account of his attacks and writings against the Wycliffites,<sup>8</sup> wrote another commentary;<sup>9</sup> a century later among the earlier works published at Leipzig by Konrad Kacheloven,<sup>10</sup> and at Cologne by Quentell,<sup>11</sup> we find in editions of Theodulus still another commentary of which the *Incipit*, "Circum incium hujus libri, sciendum Averrois circa Prologus Physicorum dicit," shows that it was written later than those of the two Bernards, as it was only in the first half of the thirteenth century that a translation of the *Prologue* of Averroes to the *Physics* of Aristotle was made.<sup>12</sup> Only

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. litt.*, VIII, 679; Frey, *op. cit.*, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The only commentary now in the collection is anonymous (cf. p. 175, n. 3), and is not found as a separate work (Schum, *op. cit.*, 632).

<sup>3</sup> Bale, *Lab. Journey*, 110.

<sup>4</sup> Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, 2d ed., II, 392-416.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 462-80.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. P. Meyer, *N. et E.*, XXXV, 2, 641 ff.

<sup>7</sup> B. N. 1862. Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 15, No. 13; 7, n. 1. Osternacher has failed to note the identity of Alexander of St. Alban's with Alexander Neckam.

<sup>8</sup> *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, ed. Shirley, lxxvii, 289, 293, 316. Perhaps there may be further information in Bale's book on Carmelite writers in B. M. Harl. 3838. Cf. J. Gairdner, *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, I, 187, n.

<sup>9</sup> J. Leland, *Commentarii de script. Britannicis*, ed. Hall, 429; Bale, *Script. ill. majoris Brit. catalogus*, 539; Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 581.

<sup>10</sup> Hain, \*15482-83.

<sup>11</sup> Hain, \*15484, \*15486. Lessing noted that the commentary found in Kacheloven's editions of 1489 and 1492, and in Quentell's edition of 1495 was the same. *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur; Aus den Schätzen der herzogl. Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel. Erster Beytrag* (1773), in *Sämtliche Schriften*, ed. Lachmann, XI, 494.

<sup>12</sup> Jourdain, *Recherches critiques, etc.*, 2d ed., 31, 74, 190, 292; Renan, *Averroès*, 3d ed., 207; Rose, *Hermes*, VIII, 341, n. 1.

an examination of a large number of manuscripts will reveal the number, the dates, and perhaps the authors of such anonymous commentaries as are found respectively in a manuscript of Helmsstadt,<sup>1</sup> of Munich,<sup>2</sup> and of Erfurt.<sup>3</sup> The latest commentary written seems to have been that found in an edition of the poem published by Wynkin de Worde in 1515, which was supplied "cum commento satis prolixo auctoris cujusdam Anglici qui multa Anglicana ubique miscuit."<sup>4</sup>

The cause of these many commentaries is not far to seek; the *Ecloga* was recommended, prescribed, and used as a primary textbook of reading in mediaeval schools. A commentary on Theodulus by Alexander Neckam has been noticed. In a plan of study found in a work of the last part of the twelfth century, attributed to him, Theodulus finds a place among the elementary textbooks:

Postquam alphabetum didicerit et ceteris puerilibus rudimentis imbutus fuerit, Donatum et illud utile moralitatis compendium quod Catonis esse vulgus opinatur addiscat et ab egloga Theodoli transeat ad eglogas bucolicorum.<sup>5</sup>

The poem offered occasion for those moral and allegorical interpretations so dear to the mediaeval mind, for which the eclogue seemed the chosen vehicle in which to convey the hidden truth, from the time that a prophecy of the coming of Christ was found in the fourth *Eclogue* of Vergil,<sup>6</sup> to the Renaissance, when Boccaccio wrote a commentary on his own *Eclogae*.<sup>7</sup> For this reason

<sup>1</sup> Leyser, *op. cit.*, 298: "In principio hujus libri sunt principaliter quaedam inquirenda Primo quae materia, secundo quae forma, tertio quis finis, quarto quis Auctor."

<sup>2</sup> Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 21, n. 1: "Philosophia et divinarum rerum scientia."

<sup>3</sup> Schum, *op. cit.*, 562: "Eglogarum tres . . . delectationem."

<sup>4</sup> Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1840, II, 363, n. Dibdin considered Ames (*Typogr. Ant.*) the source of Warton's information (*Typographical Ant.*, II, 208), as Warton had probably not seen a copy himself. The *Incipit* is not given to be compared with that of Patrington's commentary, which is given by Bale, *op. cit.*, as "Aestas fer." A former librarian of the Wolfenbüttel Library, Lauterbach, had written on the title-page of Quentell's edition, "cum scholiis Stephani Oxoniensis," i. e., Stephen Patrington, a statement which Lessing seems ready to accept (*op. cit.*, 494).

<sup>5</sup> Charles H. Haskins, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XX, 90; on authorship, *ibid.*, 76 ff.; date, 84 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, 90 ff.

<sup>7</sup> A. Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, 3 ff.; cf. Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des klassischen Alterthums*, 3d ed., II, 397. The chief cause of this interpretation of profane writers was no doubt the early allegorization of the Bible, which has such a remote origin, and which is expressed so emphatically in 1409, in a report of twelve censors, elected by the

no doubt Conrad of Hirschau, in his *Dialogus super Auctores sive Didascalon*, written in the first half of the twelfth century, introduces Theodulus, not among the primary textbooks, Donatus, Cato, Aesop, and Avianus, but after Sedulius, Juvenius, and Prosper, because it was a work that needed a threefold interpretation:

Primum igitur in hoc opere a docente sensus ponendus est literae, deinde ipsa litera per allegoriam elucidanda, inde per moralitatem vitae legentis instituenda.<sup>1</sup>

An account of the author and an explanation of the poem Conrad took from the commentary of Bernard of Utrecht, to which he is much indebted in other parts of the work.<sup>2</sup> It was no doubt with such an interpretation in mind that Jacques de Vitry<sup>3</sup> recommended it as second in the list with Cato, Avianus, Prudentius, Prosper, Sedulius, and above all the versified Bible.<sup>4</sup> He did this in a sermon addressed to scholars,<sup>5</sup> whom he warns that at the best the use of the classics is the spoiling of the Egyptians, that these authors of inferior style, which contain moral instruction, are preferable to pagan poets and historians who only excite to debauchery and vanity. The author<sup>6</sup> of the third book of the *Laborintus* is no such obscurantist; it is the educational value of certain authors that interests him. In reviewing the poets as models of style, he recommends that the

University of Oxford to examine the works of Wycliffe, where it is noted that heretics tended to accept the literal sense, and despise the metaphorical sense of Scripture (Wilkins, *Concilia*, III, 539).

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Schepss., 46.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>3</sup> A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire française au moyen âge*, 2d ed., 474. Although the manuscript Paris, B. N. 17509, plainly reads *Theodoli* the author suggests there is a reference "au célèbre Théodulpho, évêque d'Orléans."

<sup>4</sup> I. e., the *Aurora* of Pierre Riga, who died in 1209, cantor and canon of the cathedral of Rheims, in the diocese of which De Vitry preached the Albigensian crusade in 1213 (Crane, *op. cit.*, xxvi).

<sup>5</sup> Crane, *Exempla of Jacques de Vitry*, xliii. There follows in the same sermon the story of Jerome, beaten because he was "Ciceronianus, non Christianus," and the story of the renunciation of the schools for the monastery of Serlo (Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, 475; Crane, *op. cit.*, 12, 145; cf. Schwob, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscript.*, 1893, 508; Omont, *N. and E.*, XXXVIII, 2, 398; P. Meyer, *Bull. de la Soc. des anc. textes*, 1903, 53; *Hist. litt.*, XXI, 114; XXVI, 553; Waddington, *Man. des péchés*, ed. Furnivall, 2528, 2727; Gower, *Vox clamantis*, IV, 1214).

<sup>6</sup> Not Evrard de Béthune, as was clearly shown by Thurot, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscript.*, 1870, 259; cf. Hauréau, *Hist. litt.*, XXIX, 574. Yet Sandys, *op. cit.*, 515, 532, 622, refers to Evrard as the author.

work of Theodulus be read by schoolboys, after they have commenced with the *Disticha* of Cato:

Viribus apta suis pueris ut lectio detur,  
 Auctores tenero fac ut ab ore legas.  
 Elige quod placet, et lege, perlegis ecce sub uno  
 Ordine, quos traxit gloria fama mei.  
 Se mita virtutum, cautus Cato, regula morum,  
 Quem metri brevitatis verba polire vetat.  
 Veri cum falso litem Theodulus arcet.  
 In metro ludit theologia sibi.<sup>1</sup>

Then follow in turn Avianus, Aesopus, Maximianus,<sup>2</sup> *Pamphilus*, the *Geta* of Vitalis,<sup>3</sup> the *Achilleis*<sup>4</sup> of Statius, and selected works of Ovid. In a decree of the papal legate Guido, establishing in 1267 a lower class of a grammar school in Breslau, the books mentioned for primary instruction are Donatus, Cato, and Theodulus.<sup>5</sup> Hugo of Trimberg in his *Registrum* does not include Theodulus among the books he recommends for beginners, the "ethici minores:"<sup>6</sup> Cato, Aesopus, Avianus, *Geta*, Physiologus, and Maximianus, "qui et nunc in studio currunt puerorum,"<sup>7</sup> but among the theological writers, with its imitations:

Nam triplex legentibus fructus in hoc datur:  
 Per fabulas historias et allegorias  
 Ad discendum triplices lector habet vias.<sup>8</sup>

Twenty-five years later Pierre Dubois, that mediaeval radical, was most conventional in his choice of textbooks, and Theodulus is placed by him among the "minutos actores," whose literal sense alone interests him. In his scheme for the foundation of a

<sup>1</sup> Leysor, *op. cit.*, 825; first cited by Warton, *op. cit.*, II, 363, n., and then by Stevenson, *op. cit.*; and J. Frey, *Ueber das mittelalt. Gedicht, "Theoduli eclogi"* (1904), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> On the licentious Maximianus as a moralist in the M. A. cf. Hugo of Trimberg, *Reg.*, 724 ff., where "Pamphilus lascivus" is also commended; and R. Ellis, *Am. Journal of Phil.*, V, 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Or more correctly *Amphitryon* (W. Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, I, 68 f.).

<sup>4</sup> When the *Achilleis* is recommended as a school-book, and appears as such in various MSS, it can scarcely be called a rare book in mediaeval Europe, as I have once supposed (*Publ. M. L. A.*, XX, 196).

<sup>5</sup> *Breslauer Urkundenbuch*, ed. Korn (1870), 35; cited by Specht, *Gesch. der Unterrichtswesen im Deutschland*, 259; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe*, I, 602, n.; Frey, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Reg.*, 383 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 648 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 521. He apologizes for placing *Physiologus* among the primary school books, "Quamvis sit theologus in adequatione" (747), i. e., allegorical in its intention.

school for missionaries to be sent to Palestine, set forth in his *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* (1305-7), he recommends that as small boys they begin with Donatus, and then:<sup>1</sup>

Demum cum debebunt audire logicam, in tribus mensibus estatis omnes poetrias audiant: videlicet prima die Cathonem, secunda Theodulum,<sup>2</sup> tribus sequentibus Tobiam, et sic de aliis; qualibet die per duos doctores sex audiant lectiones, quas fere totas per se possent videre, prestitis hystoriis et figuratis vocabulorum communium. De talibus scriptibus ubi non queritur nisi ordinatio et notio figuratorum<sup>3</sup> potest quilibet juvenis, statim cum incipit proficere tantum, videre et legere sicut de uno romanico.

A study of the manuscripts containing the *Ecloga* shows that it was regarded sometimes as a primary book of instruction, sometimes as a religious or moral tract. Thus one manuscript contains the four books "*de moribus*," Cato, Theodulus, Avianus, and Maximianus;<sup>4</sup> another<sup>5</sup> contains the four authors with the *Achilleis* of Statius, the *Raptus Proserpinae* of Claudian, the widespread anonymous *Summa poenitentiae* in verse,<sup>6</sup> and a *Liber hymnorum*;<sup>7</sup> another Horace, Persius, Theodulus, Cato, and Avianus;<sup>8</sup> still another Avianus, Theodulus, the *Achilleis*, the *Remedia amoris* and *Heroides* of Ovid, and Arator.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand it is found in the same manuscripts with the *Dittochaëum* of Prudentius,<sup>10</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Ed. C. V. Langlois (1891), 58, 59.

<sup>2</sup> MS "Theodolum." The editor has the note (80, n. 1), "Theodolus avait mis en vers latin les miracles de l'Ancien Testament," citing as his authority the work of Thurot, *op. cit.*, 425, n. 2. Renan in his analysis of the work of Dubois has the note, "Auteur de quatre trains sur les miracles du Vieux Testament, célèbres au moyen âge" (*Hist. litt.*, XXVI, 513, n.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the emphasis he gives to the study of the works of Alexandre de Villeneuve and Evrard de Béthune; "Doctrinale audiant—et ultimo Grecismum ita quod sensum litteralem breviter comprehendant, in solemnitatibus aliis nullatenus insistentes" (60).

<sup>4</sup> B. M. Reg., 15, A, VII; Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. min.*, V, 315.

<sup>5</sup> Reginensis, 1424, *ibid.* Cf. "Item liber poetarum, in quo quinque (*sic!*) libri continentur videlicet liber Cathonis glosatus. Liber qui dicitur Ysopus, qui incipit Ethiopum! Liber qui dicitur Avianus," an entry in a list of books in the church library of St. Andreas in Braunschweig, in 1412 (H. Nentwig, *Das ältere Buchwesen in Braunschweig* [1901], 28).

<sup>6</sup> Hauréau, *N. et E.*, XXVII, 2, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Cambridge, Peterhouse, 207; M. R. James, *Cat. of MSS of Peterhouse*, 247-49; cf. James, *Ancient Libraries*, etc., 368: "liber catonis et in eodem libro (liber) Theodoli/lib' auiani/lib' Maximiani/lib' Stacii Achilleydos/lib' Claudiani de adquisicione;" cf. Schum, *op. cit.* 790, 791, Nos. 14 and 20.

<sup>8</sup> Cambridge, Trinity Coll., O, 3, 57; Baehrens, *op. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Etoniensis Bl. 6, 5; Baehrens, *op. cit.*, 314.

<sup>10</sup> On its wide use in the Middle Ages cf. Manitius, *Wiener Sitzungsber. Phil. Hist. Classe* 117, XII, 26 ff.; 121, VI, 18 ff.

with such favorite mediaeval compositions as the *Contemptus mundi minor* of Bernard de Morlas,<sup>1</sup> the *Tobias* of Matthew of Vendôme,<sup>2</sup> and the *Dicta Chrisostomi*.<sup>3</sup> A manuscript of the latter type, in which the choice was limited to elementary school books of a moral or religious tendency, was no doubt the source of the popular *Auctores octo*, which contained Cato, *Facetus*,<sup>4</sup> Theodulus, *De contemptu mundi*, *Floretus*,<sup>5</sup> *De parabolis* of Alain de Lille,<sup>6</sup> Aesopus, and *Tobias*. The popularity of Theodulus before the age of printing is attested by the 121 manuscripts enumerated by Osternacher,<sup>7</sup> who with greater industry could have doubled the number, and by the frequent entries in the catalogues of mediaeval libraries.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes it is found with a commentary,<sup>9</sup> and again the commentary appears separately. When it sometimes appears in manuscripts largely made up of grammatical treatises<sup>10</sup> it is not surprising to find its verses constantly cited as models of mediaeval grammarians and in metrical treatises.<sup>11</sup>

With the coming of printing its popularity did not diminish; Osternacher has noted nineteen separate editions published before

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 171, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Cambridge, Trinity Coll., R, 3, 56; Schenkl, *Wiener Sitzungsber.*, 136, V, 41; Oxford, Bodl. Auct., F, 5, 6; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 124, III, 30; Gonville and Caius, 202; James, *Cat. of MSS of G. and C. College*, I, 231.

<sup>3</sup> Oxford, Bodl. Add., A, 171; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 121, IX, 76; Cheltenham, 16, 226; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 127, IX, 50; published in *Arch. f. Kunde österr. Geschichtsquellen*, V, 553.

<sup>4</sup> Hauréau, *N. et E.*, XXVII, 2, 16 ff.; P. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXII, 69.

<sup>5</sup> Hauréau, *op. cit.*, 25; *Des poèmes lat. attr. à St. Bernard*, 43.

<sup>6</sup> The appearance of this minor work of Alain de Lille in collections of school books (cf. Oxford, Bodl. Auct., F, 5, 6; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 124, III, 30; Schum, *op. cit.*, 791) explains Chaucer's acquaintance with, and use of, it, pointed out by E. Koeppl, *Herriqs Archiv.*, XC, 150.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, 13-23.

<sup>8</sup> *Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cath.*, 6, 9; *Chron. monast. de Melsa*, III, xcl, xcvi; James, *Anc. Libr.*, 11, 368, 431 (cf. 487), 491, 492; Schum, *op. cit.*, 790, 791; Becker, *op. cit.*, 176, 223, 252; Bateson, *Cat. of the Library of Syon Monastery*, 4, 146; *Serapeum*, XIII, Intell., n. 1; Charlton, *History of Whitby*, 113 (the extracts given by Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, I, 109-11, copied by Becker, *op. cit.*, 226, 227, do not contain this entry); M. James, "MSS in Austin Friars' Library, York;" *Fasciculus J. W. Clark dicatus* 1909, 93. Cf. Manitius, *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft f. deutsche Erziehungs- und Schulgeschichte*, XVI, 38, 39, 233-35.

<sup>9</sup> Osternacher, *op. cit.*, Nos. 49, 65, 71, 75, 85, 87, 117; James, *op. cit.*, 11, 431, 490, 491; Becker, *op. cit.*, 223.

<sup>10</sup> Cambridge, Trinity Coll., O, 5, 4; Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 136, VIII, 61; Worcester Cath., F, 147; *op. cit.*, 139, IX, 64; Lincoln C., 5, 8, *op. cit.*, 131, 10, 74; Winchester, III, A, *op. cit.*, 131; VI, 49.

<sup>11</sup> Thurot, *N. and E.*, XXII, 2, 119, 208, n. 1; 42, 596, 451, 452; *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.* (1870), 248, 269; Huemor, *Wiener Studien*, IV, 300; *Hist. MSS Com. Appendix to Second Report*, 66.



1500;<sup>1</sup> to these are to be added at least five others.<sup>2</sup> The first edition was, without doubt, from a French press, as were half of the succeeding editions of the fifteenth century, and all the editions—thirty-two—of the *Auctores octo*,<sup>3</sup> in which it was included, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Of the incunabula not one was printed in England, but of the nine separate editions of the sixteenth century, four were French, four English, and one was printed at Antwerp for the English trade.<sup>4</sup> It is to be noted that the last mentioned, printed by J. Martens in 1508, is the only edition printed in the Netherlands, while Italy, the home of humanism, is not represented by a single edition.<sup>5</sup> The commentary on the text appears in most of the editions. Its interpretation of the "sensus moralis" of the text, so essentially mediaeval,<sup>6</sup> would not enhance the value of the original for followers of the new learning; and to the proper valuation put on the work, even as an educational tool, by German humanists,<sup>7</sup> is due no doubt the fact that not an edition appeared from the German press in the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> That it was a school book was the reason that Pelgrim and Jacobi imported Martens' edition, as they imported other school books.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, 24-26.

<sup>2</sup> R. Proctor, *Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, 8,037, 8,690, 8,818; an undated edition published by Kacheloven, F. G. Fraytag, *Adparatus litterarius*, I, 497; and the Spanish edition published at Zamora by Ant. de Centenera in 1492; Haebler, *op. cit.*, No. 634; cf. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain*, II, No. 5,782.

<sup>3</sup> Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 27, 28; Copinger, *op. cit.*, 719-23; Pellechet, Nos. 1,420-22, 1,431; Proctor, 3,642; Haebler, 333. Besides the Pamplona edition of *Libros menores*, which omitted Theodulus (cf. p. 171, n. 7) cf. Haebler, 360-62. To the editions of the *Auctores octo* are to be added the editions of Theodulus printed with Cato, and one with "De contemptu mundi," all at Lyons; Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 28. The three editions of the *Manuale biblicum* of Goldast in which Theodulus was included can scarcely be reckoned among school books.

<sup>4</sup> Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 28, where W. de Worde's edition of 1509, and one of Pynson's editions are not noted.

<sup>5</sup> Manitius (*loc. cit.*, 234, 235), has noted that Theodulus is not found in Italian manuscripts; and that the one allusion to it in an Italian work is dubious.

<sup>6</sup> G. Bauch, *Geschichte des Leipziger Frühhumanismus* (1899), 33, 41, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> In 1497 Matthaeus Lupinus Calidomus in an academic address assigns to Theodulus, Avianus, Maximianus, Alain de Lille, and Rabanus Maurus their proper position in literature (Bauch, *op. cit.*, 62), and Gregorius Bredekoph in his *Tractatus succinctus artis poeticae*—a Defense of Poetry—puts Theodulus among the writers of "fabuli," Aesopus, Avianus, and Ovid, who need to be interpreted allegorically (*op. cit.*, 84).

<sup>8</sup> To the negative evidence afforded by Osternacher one may add that no German edition is noted by Proctor, *op. cit.*, II, Part I, in a list of books printed in Germany, 1500-21.

<sup>9</sup> E. G. Duff, *Bibliographica*, II, 104, 105. On books printed abroad for use in England cf. Duff, *Printers, Stationers, and Bookbinders of Westminster and London from 1476-1555* 72-100, 187, 188, 195, 196, 205-33, 235-40; for school books, cf. 78, 79, 83, 84, 195; A. W. Pollard, *Old*



The Renaissance came late to England, and her printers were not humanists. "A single oration of Cicero and the plays of Terence were the only Latin classics printed in England during the fifteenth century. No Greek classics were published until 1543."<sup>1</sup> One is not surprised, then, to find a mere school book like the *Ecloga* printed twice by Pynson (without date) and twice by Wynkin de Worde, in 1509 and 1515.<sup>2</sup> The last edition had the advantage of being specially designed for English readers, as has already been noted. However, it does not seem to have been used very generally, or for a much longer time in English schools, for it does not appear in the curriculum of such schools as Eton,<sup>3</sup> St. Paul's,<sup>4</sup> and Ipswich,<sup>5</sup> and does not appear in the accounts of an Oxford bookseller in 1520,<sup>6</sup> in the day-book of John Dorne of Oxford in 1520,<sup>7</sup> or in the inventory of the stock of another bookseller named Clifton, made in 1579;<sup>8</sup> showing that it had been superseded by other educational textbooks. To the rarity of its publication as a separate work in France is due no doubt the fact that it fails to find a place with the large number of similar works noted in the *Repertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edited by F. Buisson.

With such a number of manuscripts and editions as evidence of the use of the *Ecloga* as a school book, it seems superfluous to note those manuscripts containing German glosses,<sup>9</sup> and the statement in the biography of John Eck, the opponent of Luther, that he read the *Ecloga* with the *Eclogues* of Vergil at a Heidelberg

*Picture Books*, 102 ff.; Delisle, *Bull. de la Soc. des ant. de Normandie*, XV, 473 ff. Herbert (*Typogr. Ant.*, III, 1852) noted a copy printed in 1508, "pro Johanne Wright." Dibdin (*Typogr. Ant.*, II, 208) regarded the statement as an error of Herbert. Duff (*Bibl.*, I, 105) thought it was the Antwerp edition with another imprint.

<sup>1</sup> Pollard, *op. cit.*, 107; cf. *Modern Language Notes*, XX, 58. On the few translations of classics published in England in the first century of printing cf. V. Scholderer, *Trans. of the Bibliographical Soc.*, IX, 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Hand-lists of English Printers* (Bibliographical Soc.), II, 1, 16.

<sup>3</sup> H. C. M. Lyte, *Eton College*, 146.

<sup>4</sup> J. H. Lupton, *Life of John Colet*, 278.

<sup>5</sup> A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation*, 107.

<sup>6</sup> E. G. Duff, *Library*, N. S., VIII, 256 ff.

<sup>7</sup> F. Madan, *Oxford Historical Society, Collectanea*, I, 71 ff., II, 453.

<sup>8</sup> S. Gibson, *Abstracts from the Wills and Testamentary Documents of Binders, etc.*, of Oxford, 11 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Osternacher, Nos. 22, 76, *op. cit.*; cf. Steinmeyer and Sievers, *op. cit.*, IV, 422.

school he attended, at the age of twelve.<sup>1</sup> One would expect to find frequent traces of its influence in mediaeval literature, but such is not the case. It did not have the fortune of its companion textbook, the *Disticha Catonis*, to be translated once or more into almost every language of mediaeval Europe. In Old French alone we have ten translations<sup>2</sup> and one parody of Cato,<sup>3</sup> of Theodulus we have only the translation of Jean le Fèvre de Resson,<sup>4</sup> as a manuscript of the work of the Minorite Jacques Bochet, "Tiaudelet," mentioned by Gilles li Muisit<sup>5</sup> still remains to be discovered. In the first third of the thirteenth century Henri d'Andeli in his *Bataille des sept arts* introduces Theodulus as an important combatant in the forces of Gramaire:

La fu li sages Chatonez,  
Avionès et Panfilès;  
La portoit dans Theaudelel  
Une baniere mi partie;  
Toissu i fu par grant mestrie  
Dans Sextis percié son escu  
Que Alicia ot vaincu,  
Qui painte estoit de l'autre part.<sup>6</sup>

In Germany the only literary evidence of its use that has been pointed out is the acquaintance shown with it by Reinfrid von Braunschweig<sup>7</sup> at the end of the thirteenth century; and farther

<sup>1</sup> Jannsen, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, 16th ed., I, 88. Reichling (*Das Doctrinale des Alexander de Villa Dei*, xvii) and F. A. Eckstein (*Lateinischer u. griechischer Unterricht*, 80) make only general statements about its use in mediaeval schools. Cf. Osternacher, *op. cit.*, 23, n. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Gröber, *Grundr. d. rom. Phil.*, II, 1, 482, 863, 1,066; Delisle, *Bibl. de l'Ec. des Ch.*, LXII, 161; J. Ulrich, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, XIX, 85; *Rom. Forsch.*, XV, 141; Meyer, *Rom.*, XXXIV, 340. On a Provençal version cf. Meyer, *Rom.*, XXV, 98, 340; XXIX, 445.

<sup>3</sup> Gröber, *op. cit.*, I, 187.

<sup>4</sup> P. Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du roi*, V, 12; Gröber, *op. cit.*, 1,067; Van Hamel, *Les lamentations de Matheolus et le livre de leesse de Jehan de Resson*, clxxxiii, clxxxiv; Ulrich, *R. F.*, XV, 70.

<sup>5</sup> *Poésies de Gilles li Muisit*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, I, 86. If this was the translation of Theodulus as Gröber believed (*op. cit.*, 755), Gilles was not sure himself whether there was a copy of it: "Ne sai que nuls en ait copie" (*op. cit.*, 88). Nothing is known further about the author than this mention by Gilles (cf. P. Wagner, *Studien und Mittheilungen aus dem Benedictiner und Cistercienser Orden*, XVII, 53; C. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge*, 307, n. 2).

<sup>6</sup> Vss. 332-44, *Œuvres de Henri d'Andeli*, ed. Heron. 55. The two MSS containing the poem have Sextis and Malicia for the names of the disputants of the *Eclogae*, Peustis and Alithia (*ibid.*, 175); a striking example of the distorted forms of proper names in MSS.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Bartsch. 25,294; Laistner, *Germania*, XXVI, 420.

north in the same century it was a source of the *Trojumanna-Saga*.<sup>1</sup> Three of the Old French translations of Cato were written in England; besides these there are an Anglo-Saxon, and four Middle-English versions,<sup>2</sup> but there is no indication of a translation of Theodulus, however abundant may be the evidence of its popularity in other ways. For it was there that the literary influence of the *Ecloga* was most evident and lasting. Thus in the ninth strophe of the *Confessio Goliae* the fourth line reads,

Non est in tot turribus turris alicie,

in English manuscripts, while other manuscripts have *alethie*, *alothie*, *galatie*,<sup>3</sup> and *aricie*,<sup>4</sup> evidence that the stanza of this French poem was written or altered in English manuscripts, so as to have an allusion to the *Alithia* of the *Ecloga*,<sup>5</sup> which, it has been suggested by Gaston Paris, became a proper name in English, developing into the modern name of Alice.<sup>6</sup> Chaucer used Theodulus as a manual of classical mythology; the same use of it was made by a fourteenth-century commentator—possibly English—of the *De consolacione philosophiae* of Boethius, who cites vss. 189–92, 341, as an authority on the story of Orpheus.<sup>7</sup> In one of Wycliffe's most important theological works, *Triologus*,<sup>8</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> I. H. Dunger, *Die Sage vom trojan. Kriege*, 76; T. Frank, *Am. Journ. Phil.*, XXX, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Brandl, *Grundr. f. germ. Phil.*, II, 1, 614, 646, 690; A. S. Napier, *Herrigs Archiv.*, XCV, 163; W. Blades, *Biography and Typography of William Caxton*, 2d ed., 204, 277 ff.; M. Förster, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXVI, 1 ff.; *Herrigs Archiv.*, CXV, 298; CXVI, 25 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Paris, *Rom.*, VII, 95.

<sup>4</sup> Hauréau, *N. and E.*, XXIX, 2, 267.

<sup>5</sup> As first suggested by R. Peiper, *Gaudeamus*, 1879, p. 213 (accepted by Laistner, *op. cit.*, although at an earlier date he did not regard the suggestion as acceptable; *Goliae*, 106), and by Paris, *op. cit.* Laistner, *Germ.*, XXVI, 421, n., has noted that the forms *Alethia* and *Alithia* appear in twelfth- and thirteenth-century MSS of Theodulus and of the commentaries; *Alathia* only in fourteenth-century MSS.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, 95; *Rom.*, XXIX, 455.

<sup>7</sup> F. G. Otto, *Commentarii critici in codices bibliothecae academicae Gissensis*, 269. Elsewhere (*op. cit.*, 268) this commentator cites an authority the work of probably the twelfth century, *De scholastica disciplina*, attributed to Boethius in mediaeval times; and with as much reason to a thirteenth-century author, Thomas de Cantimpré (S. Berger, *Thomae Cantipratensis Bonum Universale de Apibus quid illustrandis saeculi decimi tertii moribus conferat*, 14) by Teuffel (*Ges. der röm. lit.*, 8478, 6), who has accepted this unfounded ascription, found in editions of Boethius, preceding that of Teubner. This work was cited for the first time in a commentary of the *De consolacione* by Nicholas Triveth, who lived in the second part of the thirteenth century (C. Jourdain, *Not. et Extr.*, XX, 2, 63). There are good reasons why Triveth should have cited this work, as a commentary on it is attributed to him (Schenkl, *op. cit.*, 126, VI, 61). The early use of Triveth's commentary on Boethius in the anonymous commentary points to the English origin of the latter.

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Lechler, Oxford, 1869.

was written well toward the end of his life, perhaps in 1382,<sup>1</sup> the speakers, Alithia the philosopher, Pseustis the sophistical unbeliever, and Phronesis the fair-tempered theologian, owe their names to the disputants and the judge in the *Ecloga*. It may have been this use of the *Ecloga* that led Patrington to write an orthodox comment on it, although the fact that he also wrote a commentary on Aesop shows his pedagogical tendencies.<sup>2</sup> John Leland in his *Itinerary* noted that William Field, who was master of Fotheringay College, Northamptonshire, 1477-95,<sup>3</sup> "sette the version of the book caullid *Aethiopum terras*, in the glasse windows with figures very neatly."<sup>4</sup> The latest allusion to Theodulus appears in Alexander Barclay's *Eclogues*, written 1514-19.<sup>5</sup> In his list of pastoral poets in the "Prologe," after mentioning Theocritus, Vergil, Mantuan, and Petrarch, he goes on:

What shall I speake of the father auncient,  
Which in brieft langage bothe playnè and eloquent,  
Betwene Alatheia, Sewstis stoute and bolde  
Hath made rehearsall of all thy storyes olde,  
By true historyes us teaching to obiect  
Against vayne fables of olde Gentile sect.

E. K., in his epistle to Gabriel Harvey, prefatory to Spenser's *Shepheards Calendar*, written in 1579, shows his indebtedness to the prologue of Barclay<sup>6</sup> but in his list of bucolic authors, Boccaccio takes the place of Theodulus. Barclay probably used the

<sup>1</sup> L. o., 1382; cf. H. Rashdall, *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, LXI:1, 222.

<sup>2</sup> *Incip. Quae alteri commodavit repetere*, Bale, *Script.*, loc. cit.; Tanner, *op. cit.* There would not have been any reason to write such an antidote, before the last publications of Wicliffe. Cf. Lechler, *John Wicliffe and His English Precursors* (1891), 415, 426, 457; C. F. Brown, *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIX, 143, 144. Was Pecock accepting a hint from Patrington and Wycliffe in naming two of his early works after a school book *Donet* and *Follower to the Donet* (*Repressor*, ed. Babington, LXV, LXVIII)? Jacobs has failed to note Patrington's commentary on Aesop (*History of the Aesopic Fable*, 184 ff.) one of many omissions; and one finds nothing additional in Plessow's *Gesch. d. Fabeldichtung in England*, bis John Gay, xxix ff.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Ellis, VI, 1411.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. 1745, I, 7; cited by Warton, *op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Not earlier than 1514, because in the "wofull elegy" in the fourth Eclogue upon Admiral Edward Howard, his father is referred to as the Duke of Norfolk, a lapsed title, which was only regranted by a patent, dated February 1, 1513/14 (Collins, *Peerage of England*, ed. Brydges, I, 77, 88); not later than 1519 because reference is made in the same eclogue to the "Deane of Powles," Colet, as still living.

<sup>6</sup> W. P. Mustard, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 10. Mustard conjectured that Boccaccio *Genealogia deorum gentilium*, was alluded to in the lines of Barclay, a mistake, corrected at the earliest possible opportunity (*M. L. N.*, XXIV, 64).

*Ecloga* as a school book; in E. K.'s school days it had been quite forgotten. On the other hand, E. K. doubtless knew Boccaccio's eclogues—in no way a popular work, before or after the age of printing<sup>1</sup>—in the collection of bucolic writings, *Bucolicorum auctores XXXVIII*, published at Basle in 1546 by Oporinus, who was well known to Englishmen since the time Foxe was his proofreader, and published the first edition in Latin of his *Book of Martyrs*.<sup>2</sup>

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

<sup>1</sup>Only three manuscripts have been noted in Italian libraries, and two in the British Museum (A. Hortis, *op. cit.*, 911; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio Fande*, 45, n. 2), and outside of the collection of Oporinus it has been only printed in collections published in Italy in 1504 and 1719 (Hortis, *op. cit.*, 753, 755). Sir Philip Sidney, who was probably acquainted with the collection of Oporinus, shows his critical powers in remarking, after mentioning Theocritus, Vergil, Sanazzaro, and Spenser; "Besides these, doe I not remember to have scene but fewe (to speake boldly) printed, that have poetically sinewes in them" (*An Apologie for Poetrie*, ed. Arber, 63). If we accept Rand's suggestion, which has been worked out in some detail by Schofield (*Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.*, XIX, 203 ff.), that the *Pearl* owed its inspiration to Boccaccio's fourth eclogue, we must account for this acquaintance of a fourteenth-century English writer with a little-known work of Boccaccio, within a few years of its composition, as due to some personal favor to the author from an Italian, or an Englishman traveling in Italy, instead of being a proof of "how close were the ties that bound mediaeval men of letters together, how speedy was the transference of works (in Latin at least) from one land to another," etc., etc. (Schofield, *op. cit.*, 215). Even Petrarch's most popular works did not find favor outside of Italy within such a short time of their publication, in the normal course of their propagation (cf. *M. L. N.*, XXIII, 169, 170). The appearance of a copy of the *Pearl* in the library of Henry Savile of Banko (1568-1617), in the catalogues of which it is entered as "an owld booke in Englishe verse beginning Perle pleasant to Princes" (J. P. Gilson, *Transactions of the Bibl. Soc.*, IX, 135, 209), shows that it did not have to wait till the nineteenth century for a proper appreciation (cf. Schofield, *Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, 402). As the Savile manuscript was paper it cannot possibly be identified with the well-known vellum Cottonian MS, Nero A (*A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum*, p. 204). Cf. F. Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, XLVII; R. Morris, *Early English Allit. Poems* (1869), XLI, A.x., the only extant manuscript of the *Pearl*.

<sup>2</sup>Strype, *Life of Grindal*, 298; *Memorials of Cramner*, 514; *Annals of the Reformation*, I, 151, 156, 161; *Zurich Letters* (Parker Soc.), II, 112; *Original Letters 1537-1558*, 106, 595, 638; P. Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, I, 57.



## THE INFLUENCE OF MACHIAVELLI ON SPENSER

### I

The influence on Machiavelli upon the Elizabethans was twofold. On the one hand, he stood for resolution, promptness, severity, as necessary elements in government; on the other for treachery, deceit, self-interest. Tamburlaine is the dramatization of one of these phases; Barabas of the other.<sup>1</sup> *Il Principe* was the handbook of Cromwell, of Burghley, and perhaps of the great queen herself;<sup>2</sup> it was to others, or under other circumstances, a book "penned by the finger of Satan." This duality is perhaps involved in the book itself. The first fourteen chapters constitute a treatise on government, dealing with many of the problems which the England of Elizabeth was facing; the remaining chapters, including the notorious eighteenth, deal more particularly with the private character of the prince, and, perhaps through the distorted interpretation given by Gentillet, seemed a code for the trickster and the villain.<sup>3</sup> To put it in another way, Machiavelli's insistence that the prince must be a combination of the lion and the fox is at the very base of the Elizabethan conception of his philosophy, except that as a rule they separated the two. In Spenser, both these phases are reflected: the lion in his *View of the Present State of Ireland*, and the fox in his *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.

That Spenser knew Machiavelli's writings scarcely needs demonstration. The little group of friends who discussed theories of poetry also read eagerly the writings of the Italian student of statecraft. So early as 1573 Harvey asked a friend to send him

<sup>1</sup>For exhaustive studies of Machiavelli's relation to the Elizabethan drama, see E. Meyer, *Litterarhistorische Forschungen*, I, pp. 1 ff., and Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, II, chap. xii, and IV, chaps. iii, vi.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. W. A. Phillips, *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1896.

<sup>3</sup>One of William Harrison's friends wrote, "Faith and truth is to be kept where no loss or hindrance of a future purpose is sustained by holding of the same, and forgiveness only to be showed when full revenge is made." (Cited by W. Raleigh, introduction to Hoby's *Courtier*, p. 1.) And in Meres' famous *Sketch* (1598) we read: "As the Lord de la Noue in the sixth Discourse of his *Politie and Military Discourses*, censurcth the books of *Amadis de Gaul*; which, he saith, are no less hurtful to youth than the works of Machiavelli to age," etc. (Arber, *Eng. Garner*, II, 106).



a copy of "Machiavell, the greate founder and master of pollicies;"<sup>1</sup> and a litle later, having secured the book, he breaks forth into verse,

Machiavell, Aretine, and whom you will,  
That ar any waye renown'd for extraordinary skill,  
I reade and reade till I flinge them away,  
And then goodnight Studye, tomorrowe is hallidaye.<sup>2</sup>

In 1574 Sidney refers to *Il Principe* in a letter to Languet, and in Languet's reply Machiavelli is called Sidney's friend.<sup>3</sup> Four years later Harvey writes a Latin poem attributing various crimes to Machiavelli, and in 1579 asserts that the works of the Italian are surpassingly popular:

I warrant you sum good fellowes amongst us begin nowe to be pretely well acquainted with a certayne parlous booke callid, as I remember me, Il Principe di Nicolo Machiavelli, and I can peradventure name you an crewe or tooe that ar as cunnige in his Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Livio, in his Historia Fiorentina, and in his Dialogues della Arte della Guerra tooe, as University men were wont to be in their parva Logicalia and Magna Moralia and Physicalia of both sortes.<sup>4</sup>

Harvey also mentions "Machiavel" in one of his letters to Spenser, published in 1580, and there are other evidences of the Italian's popularity with the young English students.<sup>5</sup> There is reason to believe that not only were the originals familiar to Harvey and his friends but also the garbled and partisan interpretation written by Gentillet and translated into English by Patericke in 1579. And apparently it was this conception of Machiavellism as consisting mainly of trickery and foxcraft that appears in *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, published in 1591, but composed, at least in part, some years earlier.

## II

In another place I have sought to show that *Mother Hubbard's Tale* derives mainly from the famous mediaeval cycle of *Renard the Fox*.<sup>6</sup> The introduction suggests the *Decamerone* or the *Canterbury Tales*; but the rogues' progress and the incidents of the tale, with the peculiar conclusion in which the fox escapes the

<sup>1</sup> *Letter Book*, ed. Scott, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Meyer, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Letter Book*, p. 79.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Meyer, pp. 22-24.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Philology*, January, 1905.



punishment he deserves, even the element of "Renardie" as a necessary qualification of him who wishes to thrive at court, as well as the satire of priests and courtiers, all these make clear Spenser's debt to one of the greatest of mediaeval story-cycles. But, as was pointed out in my former discussion, Spenser in *Mother Hubbard's Tale* was indebted to the Renard cycle only for the main outline of his plot. Possibly when he first wrote the tale, in the "raw concept" of his youth, his chief aim was to tell a story somewhat in the manner of Chaucer and based on the great beast epic. As it was published in 1591, however, the *Tale* shows some elements drawn from other sources and it is with this phase of Spenser's work that we are now concerned.

The first section of the poem, consisting of about five hundred lines, follows the Renard material, modified by the influence of Chaucer, pretty closely. This embraces incidents (a), (b), (c), (d);<sup>1</sup> even the first courtier passage (502-14) is thoroughly characteristic. The description of the hypocritical priest (379-95), as well as the "ghostly sermon" (415-79) which he delivers to the two rogues, suggests Chaucer.<sup>2</sup> But that part of the poem which deals with the experiences of the two rogues at court, while following the Renard material in the main, presents some peculiar problems. The material may be divided into four parts: the experience as courtier (642-942); the usurpation of the throne (943-1224); the intervention of Jove (1225-1332); and the conclusion (1333-88). Of these, only the first two sections relate to the present inquiry, for the third is based on classical material;<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Modern Philology*, January, 1905, pp. 421, 422.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ll. 382 ff. with Chaucer's description of the Monk (*Prologue*, ll. 165 ff.); the "sermon" itself is strongly reminiscent of the *Pardoner's Prologue* and of the passage in the *Tale* in which that gentleman enlarges upon his view of life and his duty. Note also that the description of the Mule (589-94) is quite in the manner of Chaucer's portrait of the Monk. And cf. ll. 866-68:

"Now like a Lawyer, when he land would lett,  
Or sell fee-simples in his Masters name,  
Which he had never, nor ought like the same."

with *Prologue* (319): "Al was fee-simple to him in effect."

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 1225-30 and ll. 1246, 1247 are based on *Aeneid*, i, 222-26 and 247; and the whole passage is closely parallel to *F. Q.*, VII, vi, 14-18. Cf. especially ll. 1232-94 with stanza 18. This intervention of Jove and the use of Mercury as a means for carrying out his special providences are also found in Bruno's *Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante*. (For possible indebtedness of the *Mutability cantos* to Bruno, cf. Oliver Elton, *Quarterly Review*, October, 1902, and *Modern Studies*, 1907, chap. i.)

and the fourth is composed, as I have already shown,<sup>1</sup> of purely conventional Renardic material.

As to the first two sections, dealing with court and courtiers, one notes that the narrative portions, and not a little of the satire, follow in all essentials the general source of the poem. But there are also evidences of other influences at work. For one thing, the Lion of ll. 621-30 is not the Lion of ll. 952 ff. Confusion resulting from Spenser's reworking of the poem is plainly evident in ll. 627, 628, for the "she" refers to the Queen. Again, though it is not uncommon in the later French versions of the Renard romances for the animals to be displaced in all but name by chivalric heroes, i. e., the treatment is purely anthropomorphic, yet it is puzzling to find that a long passage in Spenser's poem (ll. 655-942) has absolutely no suggestion of the animals. Except for the occasional use of the names "Ape" and "Fox" one would never imagine, if this were the only portion of the poem preserved to us, that it was a part of an animal tale. The persons, the allusions, the customs are those of the court, and the court was Elizabeth's near the end of the sixteenth century. There are such conventional Elizabethan themes as the praise of the perfect courtier, to be found wherever Castiglione was known and imitated; the intensely personal passage about suitors' delays; and the characterization of the crafty courtier whose only care is how to advance himself. Lastly, though the animals all come trooping back in the second section, where the plotters usurp the Lion's throne, thus introducing an entirely different court, there seems to be a difference in much of the characterization of Reynold and the Ape; Reynold has practically become a new Prince in a conquered principality; together with the Ape, who is a mere figure-head, he represents the union of  
 X lion and fox which Machiavelli constantly stresses.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Philology*, II, 430, 431.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to me probable that the entire section (642-942) dealing with the first court was written at a later date than the remainder of the poem. This is not because it is better, but because it is so entirely different, in its lack of the animal element and its use of Renaissance material, from the passage dealing with the usurpation. The animals disappear with the Mule, and do not return until the rogues begin their plot against the Lion. Ostensibly it is the same court in both passages; in reality there are two different courts, peopled by entirely different courtiers. The first court passage, which is of the Renaissance and not of mediaeval times, is opened with the speech of the Mule, which shows, as has already been pointed out, signs of confusion caused by reworking. It is probable that Spenser either inserted the long passage which follows, or practically reworked what he had originally

Greene's *The Scottish Hystorie of James the Fourth* is an admirable illustration of the way in which the conventional conception of Machiavellism was applied to the drama, and it contains some useful parallels to *Mother Hubberd's Tale*.<sup>1</sup> Professor Gayley dates the play ca. 1590; thus it is practically contemporary with Spenser's poem. There is a passage in dispraise of court which is very similar to that in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*.<sup>2</sup> The king is called a "lion,"<sup>3</sup> and Ateukin the "fox."<sup>4</sup> Thus the two illustrate in precisely the same manner as in *Mother Hubberd's Tale* Machiavelli's oft-repeated formula, lion plus fox. Ateukin uses methods of attracting attention in accordance with Machiavelli's advice;<sup>5</sup> and his methods are similar to those used by Reynold.<sup>6</sup> Greene's model is revealed by the fact that Ateukin is making "annotations upon Matchavell" which he carries about with him.<sup>7</sup> Ateukin's theory that

"Tis pollicie, my liege, in everie state  
To cut off members that disturbe the head,"<sup>8</sup>

written. Moreover, it is worthy of note that it is this passage which gave offense to Burghley, and probably caused the poem to be suppressed or "called in." There is one interesting bit of evidence that Spenser got into hot water because of his satire that I believe has not been noted. In Thomas Scot's *Philomythic*, a curious satirical poem in which "outlandish birds, beasts, and fishes are taught to speake true English plainly," first edition published 1616, we read:

"If Spenser were now living to report  
His Mother Hubbert's Tale, there would be sport  
To see him in a blanket tost, and mounted  
Up to the stars, and yet no starre accounted."

<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned, in passing, that there are interesting parallels between this play and *Twelfth Night*. Examples are Dorothea's words when told she must disguise herself as a man, and her fear of a sword (III, iii, 99-114); her mood, closely parallel to Viola's, here and in IV, iv, 1-15; the situation (V, i) in which she is placed by finding that Lady Anderson loves her; etc. The characterization of Dorothea is very similar, in many respects, to that of Viola.

<sup>2</sup> Induction, ll. 40-52, ed. Manly. This is a very frequently used motif in Elizabethan literature. From Wyatt's time on, there are scores of passages which complain bitterly "what hell it is in suing long to bide." One of the most interesting parallels to *Mother Hubberd's Tale* is supplied by Braithwaite's *Strappado for the Divell* (pub. 1615):

"The Ornaments which he admires are these,  
To faune, to observe times, to court, to please,  
To make strange faces, sleeke his prefum'd skin,  
Starch his Mouchatoes, and forget his sinne,  
To dance, to dice, to congie, to salute,  
To stamp, to stalke, to finger well a lute,  
To tremble at a Cannon when it shootes,  
To like, dislike, and fill his head with doubts,  
To be in passion, wind his carelesse armes,  
To flie his Mistrasse with delightful charmes,  
To be for all, yet ignorant in all  
To be disguised, and strange fantastically."

—Ed. Ebsworth, Boston, 1878, pp. 124 ff.

<sup>3</sup> I, i, 253 (ed. Manly).

<sup>5</sup> *Il Principe*, cap. xxi.

<sup>7</sup> III, ii, 56.

<sup>4</sup> II, i, 72; V, vi, 142.

<sup>6</sup> *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, 669-88.

<sup>8</sup> IV, v, 45, 46.

is not only good Machiavellism but it is also the method followed by Reynold in making his false Prince secure.<sup>1</sup> This "fox Ateukin," careful student of "Matchavell," typifies the distorted view which the Elizabethans gained from Gentillet. The influence of this species of Machiavellism on the drama has often been pointed out; we may now note the same influence at work in a part of *Mother Hubbard's Tale*.

The principal elements in Gentillet's charge against Machiavelli are his so-called blasphemous attacks on religion; his unscrupulous cruelty and perjury; his apology for hypocrisy; in short, his use of "policy" and self-seeking rather than sincerity and humanity. All these traits are characteristic of Reynold in the two incidents dealing with court and government.

1. The Mule says they must see to it

That men may think of you in generall,  
That to be in you which is not at all;  
For not by that which is, the world now deemeth,  
(As it was wont) but by that same that seemeth.<sup>2</sup>

2. There is mockery of religion:

He would his impudent lewde speach  
Against Gods holie Ministers oft reach,  
And mocke Divines and their profession,  
What else then did he by progression,  
But mocke high God himselfe, whom they professe?  
But what car'd he for God, or godliness?<sup>3</sup>

3. He cares only for himself, and stops at no means to gain his ends.

All his care was himselfe how to advaunce,  
And to uphold his courtly countenance,

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 1175 ff. It is an interesting coincidence, also, that Ateukin, like Reynold, escapes without punishment after his schemes have fallen in ruins about his ears. Thus he is the true fox of the Renard cycle.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 647-50. Cf. Gentillet, *Max.* C. 22 (these maxims are taken from Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-14): "La foy, clemence, liberalité sont vertus fort dommageables à un Prince; mais il est bon qu'il en ait le semblant tant seulement." Also, cf. *Il Principe*, cap. xviii: "Ma è necessario questa natura saperla ben colorire, ed essere gran simulatore e dissimulatore: e sono tanto semplici gli uomini, e tanto obbediscono alle necessità presenti, che colui che inganna, troverà sempre chi si lascerà ingannare. . . . A un Principe, adunque, non è necessario avere tutte le soprascritte qualità; ma è ben necessario parer d'averle."

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 839-44. Cf. Gentillet, B: "Maximes de la seconde partie, traitant de la Religion que doit avoir un Prince." These maxims, with the comments thereon, charge Machiavelli with being an impudent blasphemer.

By all the cunning meanes he could devise;  
 Were it by honest wayes, or otherwise,  
 He made small choyce. . . .  
 No statute so established might bee,  
 Nor ordinaunce so needfull, but that hee  
 Would violate, though not with violence. . . .  
 "I for my selfe must care before else anie."<sup>1</sup>

4. The Ape, who is a mere figure-head, is joined with the Fox, thus illustrating Machiavelli's theory that the Prince must be a combination of lion and fox.<sup>2</sup>

5. Reynold establishes a strong guard;<sup>3</sup> increases his own treasure;<sup>4</sup> and ruins the country, reducing all the nobles to abject poverty or driving them into exile.<sup>5</sup>

### III

In the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland* the influence of Machiavelli is unmistakable. Here, however, it is the master of statecraft that appeals to Spenser rather than the apostle of individualism. Though the tract was not published until 1633, Spenser endorsed it "*finys* 1596," and it was entered for publication in April, 1598. MS copies of it were circulated, and in 1598 a brief of the main arguments was sent to the queen under the caption, "Certaine points to be considered of in the recovery of the Realme of Ireland."<sup>6</sup> It may also be noted that the defense of Lord Gray's course in Ireland, which forms the chief part of the fifth

<sup>1</sup> LL. 845-49; 1161-63; 1198. Cf. Gentillet, C. 18: "Le Prince ne doit craindre de se perjurier, tromper et dissimuler; car le trompeur trouve tousiours qui se laissent tromper;" C. 21: "Le Prince prudent ne doit observer la foy, quand l'observation luy en est dommageable, et que les occasions qui la luy ont fait promettre sont passees," etc. Also, *Il Principe*, cap. xv: "Onde è necessario ad un Principe, volendosi mantenere, imparare a potere esser non buono ed usarlo e non usarlo secondo la necessith;" and cap. xviii, especially where Machiavelli enlarges on the necessity of foxcraft.

<sup>2</sup> Gentillet, C. 12: "Le Prince doit ensuyure la nature du Lyon, et du Renard: non de l'un sans l'autre." Also, *Il Principe*, cap. xviii: "Essendo, adunque, un Principe necessitato saper bene usare la bestia, debbe di quelle pigliare la volpe e il leone;" and xix: ". . . io voglio most'ar brevemente quanto egli seppe ben usare la persona della volpe e del leone; le quali nature dico, come di sopra, esser necessarie ad imitare a un Principe." The same comparison is often repeated in Machiavelli's writings.

<sup>3</sup> LL. 1115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> LL. 1137 ff.

<sup>5</sup> LL. 1175 ff. Cf. Gentillet, C. 4: "Le Prince en pays nouvellement conquis doit abbatre tous ceux qui souffrent grand' perte au changement, et du tout exterminer le sang et la race de ceux qui auparavant dominoient;" C. 36: "Les gentils hommes qui tiennent chasteaux et jurisdictions sont fort ennemis;" references to *Il Principe* are given in connection with the same point in the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, below.

<sup>6</sup> Published by Grosart, I, 551 ff.

book of the *Faery Queene*, is repeated, with the veil of allegory removed, in the *Veue*.<sup>1</sup> Lord Gray died in 1593; Book V of the *Faery Queene* was completed by 1594, and "entered," with Books IV and VI, in January, 1596. Perhaps the poet's desire to win the favor of Essex, shown also in the *Prothalamium* (November, 1596), accounts in part for his growing interest in matters of state policy. The problem presented by Ireland was one of the most vexing of those with which the queen and her advisers had to deal. With it the poet had some knowledge at first hand; he also saw how entirely the principles laid down by Machiavelli for the governing of a turbulent foreign colony would fit the present case; he resolved to point this out, trusting to the well-known popularity of Machiavelli's writings at court as an element in his favor, and incidentally seizing the opportunity of once more defending Lord Gray, this time on the unimpeachable authority of the Italian thinker. No doubt, too, the parallel between his own disappointed ambitions and those of Machiavelli suggested itself to him, and like Machiavelli, he hoped by writing such a book to win the favor of his superiors.

In its general scheme, the *Veue* follows *Il Principe* very closely. Spenser finds his text in Machiavelli's third chapter: "Ma quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua,

<sup>1</sup> Machiavelli's well-known distrust of the people is paralleled in Arthegall's rebuke of the giant who represents the theory of political and social equality in *F.Q.*, V, ii. Later, Arthegall (Lord Gray) fights in behalf of Irena (Ireland) and vanquishes her enemies. After restoring peace

"All such persons, as did late maintayne  
That Tyrant's part with close or open ayde,  
He sorely punished with heauie payne;  
That in short space, whiles there he with her stayd  
Not one was left that durst her once haue disobayd.

During which time that he did there remayne,  
His studie was true Justice how to deale,  
And day and night employ'd his busie payne  
How to reform that ragged commonweale;  
And that same yron man, which could reueale  
All hidden crimes, through all that realme he sent  
To search out those that used to rob and steale,  
Or did rebell against lawfull government;  
On whom he did inflict most grieuous punishment."

—V, xii, 25, 26.

But "ere he coulede reforme it thoroughly," he was recalled, for "envies cloud still dimmeth vertues ray;" the charge against him being

"that he had, with unmanly guile  
And foule abusion, both his honour blent,  
And that bright sword, the sword of Justice lent,  
Had staued with reprochfull crueltie  
In guiltless blood of many an innocent."

—V, xii, 40.

All this is repeated, with additions, in the *Veue*.

di costumi e d'ordini, qui sono le difficoltà, e qui bisogna avere gran fortuna e grande industria a tenerli." The entire tract is a development of this idea, except that Spenser includes the differences in language in his discussion of the customs of the Irish, and stresses the variation in religion. It should also be noted that whereas Machiavelli contents himself with postulating a difference in language, customs, and laws, Spenser devotes rather more than the first half of his essay to an exposition of these differences. In this there is considerable "ripping up of auncient historyes," and Eudoxus is quite right in thinking that it "savoureth of good conceits, and some reading withall." Particularly interesting are the descriptions of costumes, a subject in which Spenser proves himself expert; the singularly neglected brief treatise on the function of poetry, which suggests Spenser's former interest in the subject; the defense of Lord Gray, to which he also returns in the last part of the essay; and the discussion of religion, which throws considerable light on Spenser's own religious opinions. There is not a little humor, considerable learning, and a deal of keen observation in this part of the essay.

But it is the second division which shows most directly the debt to Machiavelli. The first fourteen chapters of *Il Principe* are drawn upon, and the most important arguments in each work exactly correspond, though of course Spenser does not follow the same sequence of topics, and his method is further modified by being applied to a particular case. The indebtedness of Spenser can best be pointed out by constructing a brief of his argument, with cross references to passages on the same subjects in Machiavelli.<sup>1</sup>

"VEUE"

I. We are dealing with a people differing from ours in Laws, Customs, and Religion.

II. Strong medicine is necessary. "Even by the swoorde; for all those

"IL PRINCIPE"

The difficulties arise in dealing with a new state, differing in language, customs, and laws.<sup>2</sup>

Under such circumstances there are three courses: to ruin them; to reside

<sup>1</sup> The Globe text of the *Veue* is used, "a" and "b" indicating the columns on the page. Of *Il Principe* the edition by Zambelli, Florence, 1888, is used, but the references are by chapters, which are short, rather than by pages.

<sup>2</sup> Ma nel principato nuovo consistono le difficoltà . . . quando si acquistano stati in una provincia disforme di lingua, di costumi, e d'ordini, qui sono le difficoltà (cap. iii).



## "VEUE"

evills must first be cut away with a strong hand, before any good can be planted" (650 a). "Doe you yourself nowe prescribe the same *medicine*? Is not the swoord the most *violent* redress?" "There must needes this *violent meanes* be used" (650 a). Cf. also "*violent meanes*" (613 a); "Too *violēt a Medicine*" (623 a).

Unless ruined they "looke after libertye, and shake off all government . . . it is in wayne to speake of planting of lawes, and plotting of pollicies, till they are altogether subdued" (614 a).

(a) Therefore, "the first thing must be to send over . . . a strong power of men" (650 b). This is in order that the one strong blow may be given which will put an end to vacillation. The present method is not less expensive and is utterly ineffective. See 651 a and also the defense of Lord Gray, noted below.

(b) The imputation of cruelty is not to be feared. Lord Gray suffered from the charge "that he was a bloudye man, and regarded not the life of her subjects noe more than dogges, but had wasted and consumed all, soe as nowe she had nothing almost left, but to raigne in her ashes. . . ." When he was removed "not onely all that

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there in person; or to hold as a dependency, taking tribute.<sup>1</sup>

Cf. *medicine forti* (cap. iii) etc. There is no safe way to retain them except to ruin them.<sup>2</sup>

Unless ruined, the city will destroy the conqueror, for the watchword of liberty and ancient privileges is a rallying point in rebellion; the safest way is to destroy utterly or reside there.<sup>3</sup>

Machiavelli constantly stresses promptness, severity, and the ability to give a crushing blow.

Cruelty is justifiable if applied at one blow and necessary to one's security; unjustifiable when, notwithstanding slight beginning, it must be persisted in. A prince who follows this second course cannot maintain himself.<sup>4</sup>

So Cesare Borgia in Romagna found the country full of robbers; exter-

<sup>1</sup> Il primo è rovinarli; l'altro andarvi ad abitare personalmente; il terzo lasciarli vivere, con le sue leggi, tirandone una pensione, e creandovi dentro uno stato di pochi, che te lo conservino amico (cap. v).

<sup>2</sup> Perché in verità non ci è modo sicuro a possederle, altro che la rovina (cap. v).

<sup>3</sup> E chi diviene padrone di una città consueta a vivere libera, e non la disfaccia, aspetti di essere disfatto da quella; perchè sempre ha per rifugio nella rebellione il nome della libertà, e gli ordini antichi suoi . . . talchè la più sicura via è spegnerle, o abitarvi (cap. v).

<sup>4</sup> Credo che questo avvenga dalle crudeltà male o bene usate. Bene usate si possono chiamar quelle . . . che si fanno una sol volta per necessità dell' assicurarsi. . . . Le male usate son quelle, quali, ancora che da principio sian poche, crescono piuttosto col tempo che le si spenghino. (Coloro che osserveranno quel primo modo, possono con Dio e con gli uomini avere allo stato loro qualche rimedio. . . . Quelli altri, è impossibile che si mantenghino (cap. viii).



## "VEUE"

greate and long charge, which she had before beneat, quite lost and cancelled, but also that hope of good which was even at the doore putt backe, and cleane frustrated . . . all that was formerly done with long labor and great toile was . . . in a moment undone . . . the necessitie of that present state of things enforced him to that violence . . . his course indeede was this, that he spared not the heades and principalls of any mischievous practize or rebellion, but shewed sharpe judgement on them, chiefly for examples sake, that all the meaner sorte, which also then were generallye infected with that evill, might by terrour therof be reclaymed, and saved yf it might be possible" (655, a, b).

(c) The rebels should be dispersed and deprived of their arms.

They should not be allowed "to remaine anie longer in those partes, noe nor about the garrizons, but sent awaie into the inner partes of the realme, and dispersed in such sort as they shall not come togither, nor eweslie returne if they would" (654 a). The country should be left desolate (660 b).

"I would have them first unarmed utterlye and stript quite of all theyr warrlick weapons . . . and have land given unto them to occupye and to live upon" (663 a). "That in noe place

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minated the leaders and used the cruel and swift D'Orco as his governor.<sup>1</sup>

Cesare was considered cruel, but his cruelty reconciled Romagna, unified it, and restored it to peace and loyalty.<sup>2</sup>

A Prince should not mind the reproach of cruelty, for with a few examples he will be more merciful than those who through too much mercy allow grave disorders to arise.<sup>3</sup>

It is impossible for a new prince to avoid the name of being cruel, owing to new states being full of dangers.<sup>4</sup>

They never forget their name or privileges unless they are disunited or dispersed.<sup>5</sup>

This is implied in all that Machiavelli says concerning the necessity of ruining the province in order to bring it completely under subjection. See especially cap. xx, on the necessity of

<sup>1</sup> The seventh chapter is mainly devoted to the account of Borgin's work in Romagna; the passage is too long to quote.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xvii, *ad init.* Machiavelli also says that he was in reality more merciful than the Florentine people, who, to avoid the name of being cruel, permitted Pistoia to be destroyed.

<sup>3</sup> Dove, pertanto, un Principe non si curar dell' infamia di crudele, per tenere i sudditi suoi uniti ed in fede: perchè con pochissimi esempi sarà più pietoso che quelli li quali, per troppa pietà, lasciano seguire i disordini, onde naschino occisioni o rapine (cap. xvii).

<sup>4</sup> E intra tutti i Principi, al Principe nuovo è impossibile fuggire il nome di crudele, per essere gli stati nuovi pieni di pericoli (cap. xvii).

<sup>5</sup> E per cosa si faccia o si provvegga, se non si disuniscono e dissipano gli abitatori, non si dimentica quel nome ne quelli ordini, ma subito in ogni accidente vi si ricorre (cap. v).

## "VEUE"

under any land-lorde there shall re-mayne manye of them planted together, but dispersed wide from theyre acquayntaunce, and scattered farre abroad through all the countrey" (663*b*). Cf. also 676*a*.

(*d*) Particular care must be taken to discipline the chiefs or nobles thoroughly.

It is a mistake to temporize or parley with the Earl of Tyrone; the rebellion cannot be crushed unless he is first crushed (658-60). He is described as a prince in terms which suggest a Machiavellian hero in 660*a*.

In pp. 672-75 are further remarks on the mode of dealing with the nobles.

"This base sorte people doth not for the most parte rebell of himself, having noe harte therunto, but is of force drawn by the graunde rebells into theyr actions, and carryed away with the violence of the streame" (653*b*).

Lord Gray was wrongly accused of cruelty in destroying the chiefs, because he did it to strike terror into the common people (655*b*).

III. After the Irish have been utterly subdued by this swift and severe treatment:

(*a*) English soldiers should be established there as colonists.

This is developed in detail in pp. 662*b*-663, in a passage too long to quote. The argument is based on the precedent of the colonizing of Britain by the Romans.

(*b*) The English Governor of the province should live there and have absolute power.

This principle is stated in p. 666*b*. Cf. also p. 682*b*: "This should be one principle in the apoyntment of the

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disarming a new state which is added as a province to the old one.<sup>1</sup>

Cf. Machiavelli's defence of the methods of Cesare Borgia, cap. vii.

On this cf. cap. ix.

Cesare Borgia is defended for exterminating the nobles in Romagna (cap. vii).

In cap. iii Machiavelli dwells on the importance of establishing colonies as a means of holding a dependency. The Roman method in this respect is several times referred to. Near the end of the chapter, one of the capital errors of Louis XII is said to be his failure to send colonies into Italy.

Cesare Borgia made d'Orco his governor in Romagna and gave him absolute power.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ma quando un Principe acquista uno stato nuovo che come membro s'aggiunga al suo vecchio, allora è necessario disarmare quello stato . . . ed ordinarsi in modo, che tutte l'armi del tuo stato sieno in quelli soldati tuoi propri, che nello stato tuo antico vivono appresso di te.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. vii.

## "VEUE"

Lord Deputyes authority, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power" (682 b).

This in order that troubles may be dealt with before they become serious, thus gaining "timely prevention." Here occurs a direct reference to "Machiavell in his discourses upon Livye" where he commends the Roman practice of giving to their governors absolute power (683 a).

(c) The laws should not be too radically changed.

"I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breede a greate trouble and confusion. . . . Therefore since we cannot nowe apply lawes fitt for the people, as in the first institution of commonwealthes it ought to be, we will applye the people, and fitt them to the lawes, as it most conveniently may be" (670 b-671 a).

(d) Farming and religion are to be fostered (677 b, 680).

(e) Towns are to be multiplied. "They will both strengthen all the countreye rounde about them . . . and will also be as continuall holdes for her Majestie, yf the people should revolte and breake out agayne, for without such it is easye to forraie and over-runne the whole land" (682 a).

Some additional reasons may now be given for postulating indebtedness of the *Veue* to Machiavelli:

1. Verbal parallels. (a) Machiavelli's phrase *medicine forti* supplies the key to Spenser's plan for reform, and often appears in the *Veue*.<sup>5</sup> Several instances have already been cited under II

## "IL PRINCIPE"

Of the three courses allowed by Machiavelli in dealing with a new state (to ruin them; to reside there in person; or to permit them to live under their own laws, establishing an oligarchy by means of colonizing) it will be observed that Spenser stresses the first and third.<sup>1</sup>

The necessity of keeping the people satisfied and contented is emphasized.<sup>2</sup> Agriculture to be fostered for this reason.<sup>3</sup>

Princes should fortify their towns, and not on any account defend the open country. By this means they will avoid attack.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cap. v, quoted above p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Cap. xxi.

<sup>4</sup> Cap. x, *ad. init.*

<sup>5</sup> Professor Fletcher (*Encyclopedia Americana*, s. v. "Spenser") has referred to Spenser's use of this phrase from Machiavelli.

(a), above; one also notes "too violent a medecine" (623 a), and in Spenser's letter "To the Queene" (1598)<sup>1</sup> is the statement that "nothing but a moste violent medecyne will serve to recouper it." The phrase is too frequently used by Spenser to be mere chance. (b) The idea, based on the same phrase, that the work of reform in Ireland is the work of the physician, seeking by heroic measures to save the life of a patient desperately ill, corresponds to Machiavelli's frequent use of the simile of the physician.<sup>2</sup> (c) The reference to "the Prince" (670 b) is significant: "I doe not thinke it convenient, though nowe it be in the power of the Prince, to change all the lawes and make newe, for that should breed a greate trouble and confusion." Spenser does not elsewhere in the *Veue* refer to the Queen in this manner.

2. Similarities in structure and style. One illustration of this has already been pointed out: the fact that in general outline the *Veue* closely follows Machiavelli's idea of proposing a course of action suitable for dealing with a principality differing in institutions and customs from the country of the Prince. It is hardly less striking that Spenser's method of supporting his arguments by illustrations drawn from history is directly imitated from Machiavelli. Nothing is more characteristic of *Il Principe* than this: an observation or general statement is followed by copious historical illustration. Spenser uses precisely the same method, at times even using the same illustrations.

3. There is a direct reference to Machiavelli, with an illustration drawn from the *Discorsi*.

"VEUE" (682 b-683 a)

Therefore this should be one principle in the appoyntment of the Lord Deputyes authoritye, that it should be more ample and absolute then it is, and that he should have uncontrolled power to doe anything . . . for it is not possible for the Counsell heere, to direct a Governour there, whoe shal be forced oftentimes to followe the necessitie of present occa-

DISCORSI (Lib. II, cap. xxxiii)

The authority given to these Consuls and Dictators was of the most unlimited character.

Fabius did not even notify the Senate in a crisis; thus there was no delay, and they did not meddle in affairs which they did not understand.

<sup>1</sup> Grosart, I, 538 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Veue* 609 b, 610 a, 656 b; *Il Principe*, cap. iii; *Discorsi*, lib. III, cap. i., etc.

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sions, and to take the suddayne advantage of time, which being once loste will not be recovered; whilst, through expecting directions from hence, . . . . greate danger often groweth, which by such timely prevention might easily be stopped. And this (I remember) is woorthly observed by Machiavill in his discourses upon Livye, when he commendeth the manner of the Romaine government, in giving absolute power to all theyre Consuls and Governours. . . .

And the contrarie therof he reprehendeth in the States of Venice, of Florence, and many other principalities of Italye."

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The Republics of the present day, such as the Venetians and the Florentines, act very differently . . . . which has brought them to the condition in which they now find themselves.

There are a few other indications that Spenser knew the *Discorsi*, such as the fact that in III, i, Machiavelli emphasizes the need of fostering religion, a point not brought out in *Il Principe* for the obvious reason that there he was planning a course of action to be applied to Italian cities, in which there were no variations in religion; Spenser stresses the point in the *Veue*. Also, Machiavelli's favorite simile of the physician dealing with a disease requiring heroic treatment, so often used by Spenser, occurs again in *Discorsi*, III, i. Again, Spenser often says that the semblance of old forms must be preserved in Ireland; this is also observed by Machiavelli in I, xxv. And finally, Spenser's statement (674b) that it is a great grace in a prince to deal liberally in occasions where there is no constraint, is an echo not only of the praise of liberality in *Il Principe* (cap. xvi), but also of the *Discorsi* (I, 51), where prudent men are said to make it appear as if their course were dictated by their own liberality.

In general, however, the debt of the *Veue* to the *Discorsi* is extremely small; it is therefore the more significant that Spenser's only direct reference to Machiavelli is to this work. If he drew directly from a book which in the nature of things had little to contribute to the problem which he had in mind, it is the more

certain that he must have known the one book of his time which in subject and in method bore most directly upon such a problem.

4. Finally, Spenser acknowledges (683*b*) that his plan is not original with him. "I doe not deliver (it) for a perfect plott of myne owne invention, . . . but as I have learned and understood the same by the consultations and actions of verye wise Governours and Counsellors." Among these very wise governors and counsellors Machiavelli assuredly stood.

Thus the *Veue of the Present State of Ireland*, despised and rejected by most lovers of Spenser, is seen to possess a certain distinction in Elizabethan literature, the distinction of rightly interpreting Machiavellism. To Spenser's contemporaries, the word was anathema. In Spenser's own earlier poem, the conventional view was given, the foxcraft of pseudo-Machiavellism being combined with mediaeval Renardie. In the *Veue*, however, we have not a mere servile defense of Lord Gray's atrocities, nor an inhuman hatred of the Irish people, but an earnest plea for the course which Spenser believed would soonest bring relief to that wretched and suffering province. The theories of Machiavelli are here applied as the great Italian intended, not as a code for an adventurer who seeks by unholy means to advance his own fortunes, but as a means for bringing a new province into a condition where permanent reform should be possible.

EDWIN A. GREENLAW

ADELPHI COLLEGE

## BALIN AND THE DOLOROUS STROKE

All readers of the second book of Malory's *Morte Darthur* are familiar with the story of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke. The attention of scholars has recently been called to this story by the publication of the early Spanish version<sup>1</sup> of Malory's source for this book. It is now possible to read in detail the story nearly as it came to Malory. Hitherto we had only the French of the Huth MS, in which two entire leaves are missing just at the point where the dolorous stroke was described.<sup>2</sup>

The story is very briefly as follows:

Balin le Sauvage; angry because two knights have been slain in his escort by an invisible adversary, determined on vengeance. He learned that the invisible foe was Gallan, brother to King Pellam. Pellam was the most holy man in the world. Balin arrived at King Pellam's castle during the progress of a feast, and was told to leave his sword at the door. He kept his sword however and entered the banquet hall. Recognizing his adversary Gallan in the seneschal at the table he slew him at a blow, but was attacked and pursued by King Pellam who snatched up a wooden club. In the *melée* Balin's sword broke and he fled from chamber to chamber of Pellam's castle in search of some weapon. At last in a magnificent chamber he came upon a marvelous lance and with this struck down King Pellam. This was the dolorous stroke; the castle walls fell down, people were slain on every side, the country was laid waste, and King Pellam lay wounded many years till he was healed by Galahad. In Pellam's castle was the Grail; and the spear (called several times however "*la lanche vengeresse*") was the bleeding lance of the Crucifixion.

The pagan and the Christian elements of this story are at war with each other. Pellam is the most holy man in the world, but his brother, who dwells with him in the Grail castle, rides invis-

<sup>1</sup>"Demanda del Sancto Grial," *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, ed. Bonilla, Madrid (1907), VI, 91-120.

<sup>2</sup>Ff. 136, 137. See Paris et Ulrich, *Merlin*, II, 27.

ible and strikes down innocent knights. The lance is the sacred relic of the Crucifixion but it is called "the Spear of Vengeance" and in the destruction it occasions lives up to this pagan epithet.

Many details of this story when read in full have so vivid a Celtic atmosphere<sup>1</sup> that some time ago I began examining ancient Irish literature in search of parallel tales. Among other parallels I have found one so noteworthy that it ought, I think, to be brought at once to the attention of Arthurian students.<sup>2</sup>

Aengus of the Terrible Spear made his way to the royal palace of Tara to take vengeance for a wrong done to his sister by Cellach the son of King Cormac.

He reached Tara after sunset and it was a prohibited thing (*geis*) at Tara to bring a hero's arms into it after sunset; so that no arms could be there except the arms that happened to be within it. And Aengus took Cormac's *Crimall* ["bloody spear" according to O'Curry;<sup>3</sup> "ornamented spear" according to the Irish Laws<sup>4</sup>] down from its rack and gave Cellach the son of Cormac a blow of it and killed him; and its edge grazed one of Cormac's eyes and destroyed it: And in drawing it back out of Cellach its handle struck the chief of the king's household of Tara in the back and killed him. And it was a prohibited thing that one with a blemish should be king at Tara.

Cormac therefore gave up his throne and spent the rest of his life in retirement.

This story is summarized and quoted from the translation in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. Our MS authority for this text is of the fifteenth century but the story of "The Blinding of Cormac" exists in many versions<sup>5</sup> and surely goes back to a time before the rise of French or English Romance. One version of "The Blinding of Cormac" is in the Book of the Dun, a MS dating from 1106. These versions do not in some respects agree so

<sup>1</sup> Miss Lillian Huggett, a graduate student at Northwestern University, in a paper soon to be published has very clearly brought out the Celtic characteristics of the Balin story.

<sup>2</sup> Summarized and quoted from the translation given in the *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III, 82-84, where is also printed the Irish text.

<sup>3</sup> O'Curry, *MS Materials*, pp. 48, 512.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, III, 83.

<sup>5</sup> See *Y Cymmrodor*, XIV, 101-35 (1901); *Eriu*, III, 135-42 (1907); *Anecdota from Irish MSS*, I, 15-24 (1907); and compare as to the date Zimmer, *Haupt's Zeitschrift*, XXXV. 83 87, 117 (1891).



closely with "The Tale of Balin," but on the other hand they supply new coincidences of detail. One of them calls Aengus, for example, "a man fierce and savage"<sup>1</sup> (cf. Balin le Sauvage), and another sums up the destruction wrought by his spear in words that recall more vividly the Dolorous Stroke: "So there fell Cormac's son, and his steward, and Cormac's eye was put out, and nobody was able to lay hold of Aengus before he escaped to his house, and he killed nine of Cormac's warriors as they were pursuing him."<sup>2</sup>

The parallelism between the Irish tale and "The Story of Balin and the Dolorous Stroke" is sufficiently evident: In both the hero comes to the king's palace as an avenger of a personal wrong. In both is the prohibition against carrying swords into the palace (thoroughly understandable as an Irish *geis*,<sup>3</sup> this is not very natural in mediaeval France. Balin remarks that to wear one's sword at a feast is the custom of *his* country). In both tales the mischief is wrought by a spear kept in the palace as a relic or marvel. In both the king's chief steward or seneschal is slain, although in a somewhat different manner. In both the aggressor escapes after killing a near relative of the king, and leaves the king wounded in such a way as to be incapacitated for kingship.

The Irishman who attached this account of the blinding of Cormac to his *Book of Laws* regarded it as sober history and evidently rationalized it as much as possible. From what is known, however, concerning the marvelous character of Irish spears we can readily imagine that we have here a euhemerization of some ancient half-mythological tale about the destruction wrought by an enchanted spear—a tale like the Welsh Enchantment of Britain from which Professor Rhys<sup>4</sup> has suggested comes the "Dolorous Stroke." I have undertaken an investigation of the "Tale of Balin" in its varied aspects, the results of which I expect to publish shortly. In the meantime it seems to me that

<sup>1</sup> "Fear garg amnus," *Anecdota from Irish MSS*, I, 15, l. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Leabhar na h-Uidhre*, f. 53a. The translation is my own.

<sup>3</sup> On the Irish *geis* or taboo, cf. Alfred Nutt, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 212-14.

<sup>4</sup> Rhys, *Art. Legend*, pp. 291, 292.

only by supposing an identical or related source in Celtic legend can we understand why there should occur this remarkable parallelism of plot between the "Blinding of Cormac" and Balin's "Dolorous Stroke."

A. C. L. BROWN

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

## THE SOURCE OF AN INTERPOLATION IN THE HJALMTÉRS SAGA OK ÖLVIS

Eugen Kölbing called attention in one of his earlier publications to the value of the Icelandic *rímur* as an aid to textual criticism and showed that they are usually a nearly literal versification of the saga whose contents they relate.<sup>1</sup> By way of illustrating the assistance afforded by the *rímur* he discusses (pp. 200 ff.) the *Hjálmþérs rímur* in their relation to the saga of the same name, and concludes that the author of the *rímur* employed a different version of the saga than that preserved to us in prose, and that the text of this other version is frequently better and nearer the original than the prose redaction that has been transmitted to us. Kölbing further points out that two incidents in the saga which are in no way connected with the rest of the story are not found in the *rímur*, namely: the fight with Kolkr and Tóki (chaps. iv and v) and the victory over Núdus of Serkland with the liberation of the Princess Díana. I wish to show in the following paper that the former episode is interpolated and that its source is in the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*.<sup>2</sup>

The text here used is that of Rafn.<sup>3</sup> All references to *Fornaldarsögur* are to his edition unless a better and later one is especially mentioned. The *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* occupies pp. 383 to 459 of Vol. II, and the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*, pp. 453-518 of Vol. III, into which Rafn put the "less reliable" sagas.<sup>4</sup>

The last-mentioned saga impresses even the casual reader as being a later product than the former; not only does it contain more improbable events than the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*, if

<sup>1</sup> *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Geschichte der romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der englischen und nordischen Litteratur*. Breslau, 1876.

<sup>2</sup> I am preparing a new edition of the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*. It is to be hoped that someone will soon re-edit the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis* and publish the corresponding *rímur*.

<sup>3</sup> *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*; 3 vols., Copenhagen, 1829-30.

<sup>4</sup> First sentence of Rafn's preface to Vol. III.

that be possible, but it contains foreign words,<sup>1</sup> more foreign and foreign-sounding names,<sup>2</sup> and, more convincing still, references to chivalric institutions,<sup>3</sup> together with an attempted refinement in manners and speech that is absent in the older sagas.<sup>4</sup> But not only the style is later; the transmission itself is later; while we have a vellum of the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* from the first half of the fifteenth century, we have only paper manuscripts of the seventeenth century for the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*. There can be no question that the latter saga, in its present prose form, is the younger of the two. It is therefore from the outset chronologically not impossible that this late version of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis* should have used the *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* as a source.

The following is a translation of the passages under discussion:

**Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis: IV, ll. 20 ff.**—Late in the autumn they came to an island and landed in a hidden creek. That was late in the evening; it was covered there with forests and crags. They went on land, Hjalmtér and Ölver, and up in the mark on the hill. There they saw a big fleet of ships on the other side under the island, a large and fine dragon [a warship with a dragon figure-head] and fifteen longships therewith, and there was a big tent on the land and much smoke there. Hjalmtér said: "Who may these be who treat themselves so well? I will go and meet them and know who they are." "Do so," says Ölver. They laded themselves with roofing-bark and took clubs in their hands and walked along in a stumbling fashion to the tents. There was much smoke within; they sat down in the door. They who were within bade them to go away from the door. The former said they might not because of the cold, 'but what is the name of the chieftain who commands this fleet?' "You ask questions like fools," they say, "or were you brought up such a long way off that you have never heard of our famous leader? His name is Kollr and his brother's is Tóki. They are very great men in every way. They have lain in viking [i. e., been engaged in piratical

<sup>1</sup> *Handtéra*, XIII; *karbunkulus*, *lilja*, XIV; *nattúra*, *nattúrulauss*, VIII; *priss*, VI; *rósa*, XIV; *salterium*, *simfon*, VIII; *spasera*, IV; *tempra*, VIII.

<sup>2</sup> *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis* contains *Arabía*, XXII; *Diana*, VI ff.; *Bóðsa* (MS C *Bóðsa*), III; *Lucartus* (MS C and P *Lucratu*), III; *Magartus* (MS C *Margatus*), I; *Náðus* (MS P *Ráðus*), III ff.; *Pílómeus*, XXII; *Syria*, VIII. The *þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* has only *Indíaland*, II ff.; *Marsealand*, III; *Tirus*, III; MS C has *Tirona* for *Tróna* of A, III ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Hoffolk*, II; *haftýðr*, II; *kastali*, II ff.; *kurtíás*, VIII; *kurtíalsaga*, XIV; *riddarasveit*, VII; *turniment*, II; II contains a description of a tournament.

<sup>4</sup> E. g., Hjalmtér politely seats his stepmother on his knee, and she calls him "My sweet son" (VIII); Hjalmtér addresses the princess as "Dear lady" (XIX).

expeditions] since they were twelve years old, both summer and winter; all creatures are afraid of them; both kings and earls have they put under them in war and their kingdoms as well; and now they parted this summer; Tóki held toward England and the chieftain Kolrr is come here; we have been in this haven for half a month." "You have entertained us well," say they. Afterward they went back to their ships and tell their men all they have found out. "Let us," says Hjalmtér, "get ready tonight and carry our goods on land and stones on board ship and give the vikings a thorough ramming tomorrow." Now they do so. And when it dawned and the sun came up they row at the ships and send a hard shower of stones at the ships of the vikings and waken them with an evil dream. The foster-brothers had won five ships from the vikings before the latter had on their armor. Kolrr asks who is going at them so boldly, "You shall surely get resistance here." Hjalmtér tells his name. There began now a hard battle; Kolrr had a hardened company and numerous. Both pushed on well and many men fell of both parties, but more though of Kolrr's men, for the foster-brothers lopped them like saplings; however, it did not last long until Hjalmtér and Ólver had lost four of their ships and their crews with them. They had also killed every mother's son on Kolrr's ships except such as fled to him on the dragon. Then said Ólver: "It is best for us, stall-brother, to try whether we cannot get on the dragon to Kolrr." "That shall be," says Hjalmtér; they do so and get on the dragon and so at each other; there began now again a hard battle; one fell after the other, until Hjalmtér and Kolrr met and they struck at each other with sharp swords until the shields were hewn away from each. Hjalmtér thinks now that it cannot go on that way any longer, raises his sword and hews at Kolrr's neck so that his head fell off. Afterward he offered to those that were still alive that they swear the oath of fealty; the latter took up with it. They got there great wealth in gold and treasures; afterward they went back to Mannaheim<sup>1</sup> to the kingdoms of their fathers and sat in their castles during the winter.

V. At spring they went a-harrying and had ten ships and the dragon Kollsnautr [nautr: an object obtained from some person as a gift or as booty]. They harried far and wide during the summer and got little goods. And when they were on the way home they lay one evening in a hidden creek; they saw a dragon and thirty ships with it sail into the bay. They stood into the bay rather grandly and cast anchor. A man stood by the mast of the dragon, big and of an evil face, and spoke a verse:

Who are the rascals  
who run these ships,  
hard hardened  
hapless lubbers?

<sup>1</sup> Mannaheim = Sweden.

We shall plunder  
the pack of their lives  
and 'mongst us all  
even up their loot.

Hjálm tér listened and said:

Hjálm tér hight I,  
who is it asks,  
black-visaged battler  
on sea-beast?  
Slay the lads we shall  
and seize your stuff,  
foul false one,  
else flee you hence.

Tóki answers: "Are you that Hjalmtér that killed my brother Kollr last summer?" "It is the same man," says Hjalmtér. "It is a good thing we have met," says Tóki. "I do not abuse that which you praise so much," says Hjalmtér, "There shall be a truce until morning," says Tóki. "So there shall," says Hjalmtér, and they now betake themselves to rest. When it was fighting-light they took to battle with shot and stone, and when that sort of battle abated they took their weapons and fought manfully. There was no lack of stout blows which each gave the other, the foster-brothers thought they had never before found such champions; one fell after another; they fought that day until evening, and the truce shield was held up; there were three ships left of the foster-brothers, and four of Tóki's; so passed the night. But at the coming of morning they take to battle; Tóki attacked bravely and thrust toward both sides; he had a big and strong spear in his hand; he slew thirty men in a short time. Ölver sees that and leaps on the dragon in a great rage and makes a keen attack and slays them in heaps until he meets Tóki, and he hews at him into his shield and he cuts it through the whole length. Tóki grasps the spear with both hands and drives it through Ölver's shield and also through his two arms, casts him up into the air and hurls him down on the planks so that he lay there in a faint. At that moment Hjalmtér comes up and hews at Tóki's hand so that it came off and the spear fell down. Tóki now takes to his heels and plunges overboard into the sea. Hjalmtér leaps after him, Tóki swims away hard and well, but Hjalmtér after him until Tóki is exhausted; then they met, Hjalmtér went at him at once, and they took to hard wrestling and long dives, for each dragged the other to the bottom until bleeding weakened Tóki, and Hjalmtér left him dead. He then came back to his ships, his men received him with joy, and thought they had got him back from the dead. Hjalmtér now binds up Ölver's wounds. They got there great wealth in rare treasures, gold and goods and jewels. In a few days they go homeward, Hjalmtér com-

manded the dragon Kollsnautr and Ölver Tókanautr, and they sat in their castles over winter.

I regard the following passage as the source of the chief incidents of the latter part of chap. iv of the *Hjálmter's saga ok Ölvis* quoted above.

*Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*, XX, ll. 30 ff.—The next summer they went a-harrying and got little goods because all the vikings shunned them, and they came to those skerries which are called the riverskerries;<sup>1</sup> they stood into the harbor at evening; and they went up on land, Thorstein and Beli, and across the ness under which they lay. Now when they came over the ness they saw twelve ships there covered with black tarpaulins. They saw tents on land and smoke rose from them; they thought they knew that must be the meat swains. They put on clothes that disguised them and went thither, and when they came there at the tent-door they both went in at the door, so that the smoke did not get out. They who were getting meat were hard spoken and asked what was the matter with the beggars, that they were so shrewd that they wished to be burned alive or choked with smoke. They acted queerly and answered in a hollow voice that they wished to get something to eat, 'but who was the great man who commanded this fleet which lies off shore.' "You must be foolish carls," say they, "if you have not heard tell of Úfi, who is called Bad-luck Úfi, son of Herbrand the Big-headed;<sup>2</sup> he and Ótun-faxi are brothers; I know of none more famous under the sun." "You say well," says Thorstein. Shortly after they went back to their men. Early in the morning the men got ready and rowed out in front of the ness; they shouted at once the war cry; the others got ready quickly and took to their weapons and a hard battle began there. Úfi had a bigger force and was himself most valiant. They fought so long that it could not be seen which of them would win. Now on the third day Thorstein undertook to board that dragon which Bad-luck Úfi commanded, and Beli was right behind him. They struck out valiantly and

<sup>1</sup> I. e., the skerries at the mouth of the Götaelf.

<sup>2</sup> Chap. xxi of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* explains the nick-name of Bad-luck Úfi: "Úfi had got into the bad luck that he had killed his father and mother." His father, Herbrandr the Big-headed, is the Old High German *Heribrant*. The *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* describes Herbrandr [p. 340 of Bertelsen's edition, Copenhagen, 1905-] as having "a long face, but not very broad." From this idea of a long face the appellation big-headed might easily arise. The *Þiðrekssaga af Bern* knows nothing of a relationship between Hildibrandr and Herbrandr. The latter is *Þiðreks* standard-bearer. In the *Wolfdietrich* he is the king's standard-bearer and Hildebrand's father [cf. p. 91 of Bertelsen. *Om Didrik af Berns Sagas oprindelige Skikkelse, Omarbejd-tæe og Håndskrifter*, Copenhagen, 1902]. The *Þiðrekssaga* is not necessarily our sagaman's only source of information. This is then an allusion to a version of the Hildebrand's story which has a tragical conclusion and in which the son slays the father and the mother as well. For other instances of the Hildebrand theme in Icelandic literature see Busse, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* XXVI, 1, and Kahlo, *ibid.*, XXVI, 319, and XXVII, 408.



slew every man before the mast. Úfi then rushed out of the poop at Beli and they exchanged blows for a short time, Beli was then wounded, for Úfi was both skilled with weapons and a hard hitter. At that juncture Thorstein came up with [the sword] Angrvapl and strikes at Úfi;<sup>1</sup> that blow came into his helm and split the whole trunk and the mailed man from end to end, but the sword went into the mast-step so that both edge-rims were hidden. Beli said: "That blow of thine, foster-brother, will be told of as long as the north is dwelt in." Afterward they offered the vikings their choice: either they should give themselves up and their lives be spared, or they should fight with them. They bade the rather that they might receive life of them; they then gave quarter to all, for they were glad to get it. They got there much loot; there lay they three nights and attended to their men and held homeward at autumn.

The following passage from the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* XXIII, ll. 80-110, bears a close resemblance to chap. v of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*, which is translated in the foregoing pages. Three years have intervened between this and the passage just quoted. Ótunfaxi has all this time been searching for Thorstein in order to take revenge. Thorstein and his two foster-brothers arrive at an island whose friendly inhabitant informs them that Ótunfaxi's fleet lies on the other side. Thorstein proceeds to attack at once, surprising the enemy and killing more than a hundred men in their sleep. The fight is long drawn out and most of the ships of both parties are disabled.

Thorstein undertook to board the dragon, as did Angantýr and Beli; there were still many people on Elliði [Ótunfaxi's dragon]. Faxi leaps forward against the foster-brothers Angantýr and Beli; they had a hard exchange of blows with one another; no iron weapons bit Faxi, but they had not fought long before the two foster-brothers were wounded; at that juncture Thorstein came up and struck at Faxi's face as it came handiest, but he did not yield a bit; then Thorstein struck a second time and no less stoutly; then Faxi got tired of the blows and sprang overboard and into the water so that he showed the soles of his feet. Beli's and Angantýr's hearts failed them at the idea of going after him. Thorstein leaped overboard at once and swam after Faxi, but the latter was fleeing; it was likest as a whale swims there where Faxi went; it went so for a long time and until Faxi came to land; but the foster-brothers fought with the men who were left and did not stop until they had killed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kahle, *Altwestnordische Namenstudien*, *Indogermanische Forschungen* 14, pp. 133 ff., for sword names in Old Norse. P. 204: "Angrvapl. *angr*, M. 'Schade,' *vapl*, M. 'das Waten,' resp. 'der Watende' von *vapa* 'waten,' also 'der durch Schaden Watende.'"

all who were on the dragon; afterward they took a boat and rowed to land to Faxi and Thorstein. Now when Faxi was come to land and Thorstein was swimming toward him, Faxi took up a stone and sent it at Thorstein, but he dived away from it and there was a big wave caused by the stone's coming down. He took up a second and a third, and they all went the same way, and at that moment came the foster-brothers Angantýr and Beli. Thorstein threw the club back on the ship when he sprang overboard, and Beli had picked up the club, and he came to where Ótunfaxi is standing and he strikes him with the club from behind under the nape of his neck, then a second time, and Angantýr stoned him with big stones. Now Faxi's skull began to hurt him somewhat and he became tired of enduring their drubbing and plunged down into the sea from off the rock. He swam then on the surface of the water and Thorstein after him, and when Faxi saw that, he turned against Thorstein and they attacked each other while swimming; they had there great and mighty wrestling bouts. Each dragged the other down, but Thorstein found that he had met more than his match. It came about that Faxi dragged Thorstein to the bottom and the latter could swim no more. Thorstein thought he knew that Faxi was going to bite his windpipe in two;<sup>1</sup> Thorstein said: "Could I ever need you again, dwarf Sindri, more than I do now?" With that Thorstein became aware that such a hard grip was taken of Faxi's shoulders that at the next moment he was down on the bottom and Thorstein on top of him. He was very tired from their struggle. Thorstein then takes the dirk which Sindri gave him. He stabs Faxi then in the brisket with it so that it sank clear up to the handle; then he slits his whole belly down to the little guts; still he found that Faxi was not dead, for he then said: "You have done a great deed of daring in that you have slain me, for I have had ninety battles and have had victory in all except this one; I have won eighty times in single combat, so I have been a duelist, and I am now ninety years old." It seemed to Thorstein that there was no use in the man's gabbing any more if he could stop him; he then ripped out of him everything inside that was loose. Now is to be told of Angantýr and Beli, that they took their ship and rowed out on the sea and looked for Faxi and Thorstein and for a long time find them nowhere; then they came to a place where the sea was mixed and red with blood; they then thought they knew that Faxi must be down on the bottom and have killed Thorstein, and when a short time had passed by they saw that something nasty was floating on the sea. They went thither and saw big and unsightly bowels floating there; a little afterward Thorstein came up and he was so beaten up and exhausted that he could not keep on top of the water. Then they

<sup>1</sup> A disgraceful thing for a warrior to do, but characteristic of trolls. Cf. *Sörlasaga sterka*. XXV, "And that would seem a bad way of doing, if I should bite you in the windpipe, as trolls do."

rowed to him and pulled him up into the ship; he had little hope of life, yet he was not greatly wounded, but the flesh hung down his legs in lumps. They went and sought relief for him and he soon came to.<sup>1</sup>

The passage from chap. iv of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* and that from chap. xx of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* have the following elements in common: two foster-brothers land with their fleet at an island; they climb a hill and see below them a strong fleet on land, tents (in the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis*, a tent), and smoke rising therefrom. The brothers disguise themselves and go into the tent door. They who are within abuse them and try to drive them away. The brothers inquire who commands the fleet and receive the answer that they must be fools not to know that; they are told the name of the chief and also that he has a brother, though the latter is not present, and these two men are very famous warriors. The foster-brothers return to their men, and in the early morning attack the vikings and finally defeat them, giving their men quarter. Later they sail homeward to spend the winter there.

This list looks, however, more imposing than it really is; foster-brothers are a common stock in trade of the *Fornaldarsögur*. The landing on an island, climbing a hill to look for enemies and discovering a fleet on the other side is as common an incident in this group of sagas as it must have been in the lives of these roving pirates.<sup>2</sup> Even indicating that the questioner is a fool for not knowing the name of the leader of a fleet is paralleled elsewhere in this group.<sup>3</sup> The agreements which follow this one are all so

<sup>1</sup> We have here the same theme as in Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother, namely: a submarine contest. Thorstein is in this passage a water-hero, like Beowulf; and Faxi seems to be a water-demon. In both the *Beowulf* and the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* the hero plunges into the water, clutches with his enemy, and goes to the bottom. Grendel's mother seats herself on the prostrate Beowulf and tries to stab him with a dagger; Thorstein gets on top of Faxi and stabs him with a dagger. In both the friends of the hero watch the sea mixed and red with blood and decide that their lord is slain by his enemy, but after a long time the exhausted warrior returns, to their great joy. The naïve story of Faxi's boasting at the bottom of the sea causes one to ask if this fight did not in an earlier form of the tale also take place "in some unfriendly hall or other, where no water harmed him in any way" (J. R. Clark Hall's translation of *Beowulf*, ll. 1513 and 1514), i. e., in a submarine cave, free from water, where talking would be possible. Whether these accounts do or do not go back in the dim past to a common origin is a question of small import. More important is, that they present the same situation, one of the limited number of stock themes in early popular literature.

<sup>2</sup> *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, X and XV, in Detter, *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, Halle, 1891; *Þórmodarsaga Grípssonar*, I; Boer, *Örvar-Odds saga*, XVI, Leiden, 1888.

<sup>3</sup> *Örvar-Odds saga*, XXV.

colorless or so frequent in the *Fornaldarsögur* that they need no comment.

The one incident which occurs nowhere else, and which is so striking that it is of itself convincing, and which in connection with the other agreements renders them of corroborative value, is this: two men go in disguise down to a tent from which smoke arises, stand in the door, endure the abuse of the inmates, and find out the name of the leader. The incident occurs elsewhere neither in the *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda* nor in the similar group of tales in *Saxo-Grammaticus*.

It is a natural conclusion that these are two versions of the same tale. The passage from the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* gives the fuller and clearer account: the cause of the smoke is explained, i. e., the men are preparing food; their anger is explained, i. e., the strangers in the doorway prevent the exit of the smoke; the latter's excuse is better, i. e., they have come to the cooks' tent for food; more particulars are given, the conduct of the assumedly hungry, frightened beggars is pictured. Adding to the greater fullness and definiteness of the account the fact that the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* is older than our redaction of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis*, I feel justified in regarding the passage in the former as the source of that in the latter rather than vice versa.

Chap. v of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ölvis* and the passage from chap. xxiii of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* also exhibit considerable similarity: a surviving brother is seeking the slayer of his relative; the two parties meet in battle; the foster-brothers board the dragon of their enemy, who fights successfully until the chief hero intervenes, when the former jumps overboard followed by the hero, who finally slays him at the bottom of the sea and returns to the surface and to his rejoicing followers. The submarine fight is the notable incident here, which the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* again relates with greater detail. Feats of swimming and diving are not infrequent in the *Fornaldarsögur*,<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> E. g., F. Jónsson, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, IX, Copenhagen, 1904; *Ásmundarsaga kappabana*, VI, in Dettor, *op. cit.*; Ranisch, *Die Gautreks saga in zwei Fassungen*, Berlin, 1900, XI, also p. 67; *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, XVIII; *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, VI; *Hálfðanarsaga Bránufostra*, XI.

a defeated man often escapes overboard, but in no other case is the fight concluded at the bottom of the sea. I may also add that the surprise of the sleeping company in chap. iv of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* finds its parallel in chap. xxiii of the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*.

It would seem that the interpolator of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis* had in mind what seemed to him a couple of good stories which he had read or heard somewhere. He combined them into one incident and incorporated them into the saga he was writing down. These stories are the same that occur in the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*. Of course both versions may go back to a common source, but until there are indications that such a source once existed, it would be but idle to discuss such a question, and we may regard the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar* as the parent of a portion of chap. iv and of the whole of chap. v of the *Hjálmþérs saga ok Ólvis*.<sup>1</sup>

CHESTER NATHAN GOULD

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to my friend, Dr. A. LeRoy Andrews, of Cornell University, for a number of suggestions and corrections.

## A COMIC VERSION OF ROMEO AND JULIETTE

Among the many versions of the Romeo and Juliette story current in the sixteenth century the following curious little comedy merits a humble place. *Li tragici successi*, as it is called, is only an outline plot, the merest skeleton, for a *commedia dell' arte*, in which the dialogue was improvised; it was printed as the eighteenth *scenario*, in the once famous *Teatro delle Favole rappresentative, overo la ricreatione comica, boscareccia e tragica, divisa in cinquanta giornate, composte da Flaminio Scala detto Flavio . . . . In Venetia, 1611*. The author, Scala, was head of the *gelosi*, the troupe of *comici*, which, in its many visits to Paris between 1576 and 1604, was so greatly favored by the Italianate French court. More than one of the *scenari* in their repertory betray indebtedness to an old story for plot outlines, but in every case the situation, originally perhaps simple, is complicated by a double or even triple love intrigue, and in every case the characters are rechristened with the usual stage-names of the comedians—the same name for the same mask in all the plays.

In *Li tragici successi*, therefore, the two old men, the heads of hostile houses, are called by their type names, Pantalone and Gratiano, Dottore. Capitano Spavento, son to Gratiano, loves his enemy's daughter, Flaminia, while his own sister, Isabella, the *prima donna* of the piece, loves Flaminia's brother, Oratio. The Captain, prowling about under his mistress' window, is set upon and apparently killed by Oratio, who is therefore banished from his native city. Isabella cannot live without her lover, her "husband by promise," and, aided by an old physician, swallows a sleeping draught, with the intent to escape from her father through this apparent death. She is more fortunate than Juliet, for though she is buried, she awakens at the proper moment and leaves the vault just as Oratio returns to Florence in disguise to find her. So much—enough one would think for at least four acts of a play—is told in the Argument or Prologue. Then follows the *scenario*, of which I give a slightly abridged translation:

## ACT I

## SCENE 1

Oratio tells his friend Flavio that love for Isabella has drawn him back to Florence in disguise, though he knows he is running into great danger. He knocks at the door of an inn and inquires from the host of Isabella's welfare. The host tells how she has just died suddenly and has been buried an hour past. *Exeunt* Oratio in despair, and Flavio consoling him.

## SCENE 2

Pantalone rejoices over the misfortunes of his old enemy, Gratiano, whose daughter has recently died, and whose son, Captain Spavento, has just been arrested and will soon be executed. *Exit*, with host.

## SCENE 3

Flaminia, lamenting her lover's imprisonment on false charges, begs her maid, Franceschina, to run to the officials and try to free the Captain. *Exeunt*. Night falls.

## SCENE 4

Gratiano, armed, laments to Arlecchino, his man, the misfortunes of his house. Enter Pantalone, attended, with lanterns; exchange of insults between the two parties. *Exeunt*.

## SCENE 5

Oratio, with lantern, passes on his way to visit Isabella's tomb. Flavio tries to hold him back. *Exeunt*.

## SCENE 6

Isabella, with the old physician's servant, comes to the inn to hire horses for her journey to Oratio. As she talks, Pedrolino, Oratio's valet, and Arlecchino peer at her cautiously; on her turning to them and saying "I am Isabella," they flee, persuaded that she is a ghost. Isabella retires.

## ACT II

## SCENE 1

Oratio and Flavio return from the tomb, not having found Isabella's body, and ask the inn host whether she's really dead. He says he saw her buried. *Exeunt* all, to inn.

## SCENE 2

Isabella, in man's dress, engages horses from the host. He scans her carefully and calls Oratio, saying, "Here is a youth who has a kind of resemblance to Isabella." The lovers gaze at each other, and after some hesitation, Isabella "discovers herself" and goes in with Oratio.



## SCENE 3

Pantalone laughs at Pedrolino's story of having seen Isabella. He tells Flaminia to rejoice that their enemy's son, the Captain, will pass by to execution at daybreak. *Exit* Pantalone. Franceschina confirms the old man's news and both women go home weeping.

## SCENE 4

Oratio and Flavio decide to flee at once with Isabella. Gratiano overhears their talk, recognizes them, and goes to report them to justice.

## SCENE 5

Oratio recommends Isabella to the host's care for a short time, and is about to depart when Gratiano and officers seize him and carry him to prison, Flavio vainly protesting. Day breaks.

## SCENE 6

Flaminia and Franceschina hear trumpets and come out to see the Captain brought to execution. He appears with a rope around his neck; Flaminia, in despair, throws herself into his arms, crying, "my husband, I cannot let you die innocent." General astonishment. The officers consent to take the Captain back to interview "the Eight." *Exeunt* with Flaminia.

## ACT III

## SCENE 1

Pantalone angrily asks Franceschina his daughter's whereabouts; she replies, "Flaminia has gone to tell the judges that the Captain is her husband and not a thief or a murderer." A messenger from the Eight confirms the story by summoning Pantalone to witness in two important trials. *Exit* Pantalone with messengers, Pedrolino following and begging for his wages.

## SCENE 2

Franceschina tells Flavio and Isabella that Oratio is in prison; they rush off to the hall of judgment.

## SCENE 3

Gratiano delighted cries, "Oratio shall be executed for having broken the ban." Isabella throws herself at her father's feet, telling the whole story of her love for Oratio and her pretended death. Gratiano threatens her with severe punishment.

## SCENE 4

Franceschina enters, telling Pantalone that the judges have pardoned both the young men. Pantalone humbly salutes Gratiano, who returns the courtesy coldly, "doubting some treachery."

## SCENE 5

Captain Spavento kneels to his father to pardon Flaminia, as she is his betrothed wife. Pantalone seconds the appeal, begging Gratiano to forget the past. Gratiano weeps, *per tenerezza*. All are reconciled, Oratio marries Isabella, the Captain marries Flaminia, Arlecchino and Pedrolino draw lots for Franceschina, who falls to Pedrolino. "Here ends the comedy."

The complications provided by the double plot and by the *lazzi* of the servants somewhat obscure the outlines of the original story; yet it seems quite evident that the essential skeleton of the piece is a legend of the Romeo and Juliette type, reworked by a pitying artist to a mercifully happy ending.

WINIFRED SMITH

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

## A MODERN FINNISH CAIN<sup>1</sup>

Finland, the "Land of a Thousand Lakes," is now experiencing a most intense literary activity in its own language, the Finnish. This melodious and very peculiar tongue was repressed for centuries upon centuries in favor of Swedish; but, especially through the patriotic efforts of Johan Vilhelm Snellman in the forties of the last century, a great awakening of the national spirit took place. And although this "spring" of Finnish nationalism was quickly followed by a "second winter" of official repression dealing death to the bright hopes of enthusiastic minds, the tenacity of the Finn triumphed in the end after long struggles. During the last forty or fifty years a literature in Finnish has sprung up that surprises one by its wealth, considering the small number of inhabitants and the unfavorable conditions of this land of arctic snows and of a thousand sorrows. There are a number of talented poets, and the prose writers already form a goodly company, which is fast increasing.

The Finn is given to reflection and introspection; a striving for ethical ideals seems part and parcel of his nature. So it is no wonder that social and ethical questions have been handled so often in Finnish literature. *L'art pour l'art* thus far counts few strict votaries in this country of stern realities.

Johannes Linnankoski, a young Finnish writer whose real name is Vihtori Peltonen, exhibits this ethical trend even more strongly than many of his fellows. His greatest book thus far is "Laulu tulipunaisesta kukasta," the "Song of the Fiery Red Flower," an intoxicating dithyramb on love and life and at the same time a picture of the ruin wrought by the man whose only desire is to quaff the drink of love to his heart's content. All the splendor and beauty of sexual passion is there but also its terror

<sup>1</sup> Arturo Graf has published a good and rather exhaustive article on "La poesia di Caino" (Cain in Poetry) in the *Nuova Antologia* of March 16 and April 1, 1908. The book I speak of he mentions nowhere. As Finnish is not read by many people and the Finnish drama of Cain is really important, a rather full treatment of this work does not seem out of place.

and cruelty. The flood of modern individualism has swept through Linnankoski's soul, not converting it into a swamp choked with the rank weeds of rabid egoism and the poison flower of self-inflation, but fructifying and quickening a good and substantial soil to healthy and life-giving growth. Linnankoski has simply outgrown that puerile individualism which is now so all-powerful and obstreperous; a far nobler and manlier spirit permeates his works, "Love thy fellow-men, work for the happiness of others and the uplifting of the race, fight and overcome thine own self whenever the fulfilment of its desires would mean harm to others. In the *child* there is the expiation of man's errors."

These ideas form also the *finale* of Linnankoski's first work, a drama entitled "Ikuinen taistelu," "The Eternal Struggle."<sup>1</sup> Its central figure is Cain and the drama hinges on the slaying of his brother.

The writer has chosen for his motto the lines of the Swedish poet Rydberg,

Lifvets strid har mening,  
Djupaste fall har tröst,

"The fight of life has a meaning, deepest fall a consolation." The drama opens up with a lengthy Prologue, which introduces Adam, Eve, Cain, Abel, Adah (Cain's sister-wife), Zillah (the sister-spouse of Abel), and their youngest sister Thamar (a girl of eight or nine years). We get a glimpse of the character of these people and see how the catastrophe is to develop out of the conflicting elements in the family of the first human pair. Playful, childlike innocence pervades the beginning of the Prologue. Zillah and Adah are plucking the apples that have just ripened, Zillah up in a full-foliaged tree, her sister down below with a basket in her hand. They chatter about the beautiful fruit and the surprise it will give the others. Abel comes home from tending his flock. Adah bids Zillah sit still in the tree and tells Abel, who is looking for his wife, that she must have run away from him, but finally she has the strange, beautiful bird in the tree answer her bird-like chirping in similar

<sup>1</sup> Porvoo, Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, 1903. Since then several editions.

fashion. Zillah is detected and helped down by her husband. Abel, too, has good news to tell, three little lambs born in the night gladdened his eyes this morning. Soon they are joined by Cain, who is received with demonstrations of most ardent love by Adah and shows the others some ears of ripened corn, specimens of his new crop. The seed he had found in the wilderness and his genius of investigator and inventor was aroused immediately; he planted the corn and here is the result.

*Abel.* That was indeed a happy chance.

*Cain.* Chance?—That's true, nearly everything is yet in the hands of chance. But it will not *always* be so.

*Abel.* I do not understand you.

*Cain.* Do I myself understand it! This only I understand that everything around us lives, breathes, moves. Nature is full of mysteries. Touch her and she trembles like a bride in the first embrace.

*Adah.* Incomparable, Cain!

*Cain.* The earth speaks, the mountain talks, the wood whispers. No, they cry out! Take away the fetters, son of man! they cry out to us. Take away, tear, break—and we will serve thee! . . . Of its own accord! What is it that comes of its own accord? Misfortune, nothing else. Sit with your hands folded and your flock will frisk about in the cornfields and your cornfields will be full of thistles . . . And great Nature round about us! Oh, how it makes my soul boil and strain! Nature there is full of powers, and we here are powerless.

*Abel.* But what are you aiming at with all these words?

*Cain.* Into the heights, into the depths! What is there up there, what in the womb of the earth, what in the interior of the mountains?

Cain goes on to expatiate on his dreams of the future. That which seems impossible today may be an accomplished fact tomorrow. Abel on the other hand confesses,

*Abel.* I am satisfied with the Creator's creation such as it is . . . The sky is clear, the earth full of life, full of fragrant odors—always the same, but nevertheless new every day.

*Cain.* I see it. But why look at everything only in the light of day? Now everything shines and sparkles, the wood is full of chirping and fluting, the sheep strolls gently in the fields. Only a moment—and the sounds of night and conflict will be heard. Twilight will spread its mantle, the wild beasts will rush out growling from their lairs, the shrubs, the young pines will break under their feet, the noise of a thousand feet will make the plain tremble. . . . There shining teeth glitter,

there blood-thirsty eyes burn like live coals. The small take to flight, your sheep run around senseless inside the paling; howling, bleating, groaning with pain, blood, rattle of death, uh!—That I consider strife.

Abel directs Cain to God, who rules the world and its mysteries. But Cain replies,

What do we know of him. And our parents, who have seen him, did not comprehend him, they only fear him. And how can he who is called light leave us in the dark? If he does not deign to come down to us we will strive to get up to him. As to limits of human understanding, such are unworthy of man. Either perfect insight into the nature of God, or perfect separation from him!

Cain is whittling away on a new kind of bow, with which he intends to shoot a fiery red bird that is continually haunting his imagination. If he get that bird then many things now impossible will be susceptible of accomplishment. Abel fears the tempter Snake may be preparing another snare for mankind. Cain spurns the whole idea of the tempter and says,

Why shouldn't I dare to doubt that story? What is good? What is bad? The nettle! Wasn't that a bad, a noxious weed stinging secretly like a poisonous snake? Now we wear its fibers for a light and easy garment. That same evil thing has become our best friend. As for the paradise our parents forfeited, I do not wail over its loss. The earth is young and we are young, and a voice in my bosom says that we may one day create for ourselves even a new paradise.

But Abel is terrified at such bold words, which seem to be the whisperings of the tempter. Their little sister Thamar comes and tells of her strange experience with somebody in the wood who repeated her every word and whom the others recognize as the echo of her own voice, kind and good, or bad and angry, in accordance with the words and tones of him who is calling. When she is gone Abel says, "How happy is the time of childhood . . . . If we only could always be children." But Cain retorts, "To feel and to believe that is the happiness of the child; to will and to search that is—the unhappiness of the man. Choose!"

*Zillah.* Then I choose happiness—to be like a child, to love all, parents, brothers, sisters, Jehovah, nature—the whole world.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Adah's "O Cain, choose Love," Byron's *Cain*, I, i, 431.

*Abel.* Yes, are we not like Thamar in the wood? What we are ourselves that also are our surroundings.

*Cain.* Certainly, but how about fear, evil, the tempter?

*Abel.* Do not go on, brother, do not go on. The Lord enlighten us!

*Cain.* Yes, yes, do not go on, do not go on . . . eat, drink, do your work, and die, that is the chief aim.<sup>1</sup>

*Adah.* Oh, I understand Cain so well. I too crave for something more although I never yet dared to say it.<sup>2</sup>

*Cain.* Here you have it—we do not dare. We do not dare to plant our whole foot on the surface of this earth—we only creep along on our toes as if we feared to awaken sleeping beings . . . Our present life only a bubble on the stream?<sup>3</sup> Never! It is the stream itself . . . My soul is like the whirlpool of a waterfall—nobody answers, only the din of the waters sounds around me.

Zillah recounts a dream of hers that seems to bode evil, especially to Cain. But he declares dreams to be dreams and finally gets into a rage over Abel's and Zillah's weakness of soul and flings the piece of cloth on which Zillah is engaged to the ground because she hides her face behind it in horror at his impious words. Adam, Eve and Thamar come, and Adam, the typical *pater atque dominus familias*, scolds Cain for his eternal questionings and his dissatisfaction with the present state of their knowledge, and for thus disturbing the peace of their otherwise quiet household; he ends by saying, "It is all an unruly boy's stubbornness. Let us pray and all will be well." And Abel offers up a prayer that is, indeed, most beautiful and that asks also for peace of mind. Thus closes the Prologue.

We see Abel and Zillah are the optimists who look only at the sunny side of life; they are not wholly insensible to all the evil and the tantalizing riddles of the world, but they neither like nor dare to face them squarely. They content themselves with expecting everything from the hands of the Lord. But Cain stands on his own feet. An unawed spirit of inquiry and experimentation animates him. His are the great discoveries that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II, ii, 416 (quotations without indication of the work meant refer to Byron's drama).

<sup>2</sup> Byron's Adah cannot sympathize with her husband (I, i, 187-90). She has the beautiful heart, but neither the intellect and strength, nor the delight in playful fun of Linnankoski's Adah.

<sup>3</sup> This is Abel's view.



have hitherto been made for the comfort of the first human family, as, for instance, the weaving of cloth out of the nettle's fibers and the improvement in raising grain. His great aim is to subject all the forces and products of nature to the will and use of man, and just now he dreams day and night of mastering that mysterious being called fire by us and "the fiery red bird" by him. But he almost suffocates in the depressing atmosphere in which he lives—thousands of mysteries surround him, nobody except Adah sympathizes with the powerful workings of his mighty, fearless soul, Abel is ever prompt with his "Don't touch that," and old Adam tries to thunder the obstinate young fellow into silence. The conflict is there, and the Tempter makes good use of such opportunities.

Lucifer summons his spirits to a nocturnal conference. This "Night Meeting" forms the first act of the drama. Lucifer has been baffled in his great scheme; man fell, but he was too weak to imitate the fallen angels and rise in rebellion against Jehovah. Lucifer has brooded for twenty-five years in order to hit upon some new scheme of revenge; now he has found it and lays it before his servants. Two dozen evil demons embodying the different vices, corruptions, and sinful inclinations of mankind are introduced. This act I consider the weakest spot in the drama. The more or less allegorical figures have a chilling effect, we move in a world of lifeless, bloodless shadows. And wherefore all these pyrotechnics of hell? The "snake" is in our own hearts, as Cain justly supposes, and it certainly doesn't require scores of spirits from the abyss to make a man slay even his own brother. In fact, only a few of them are instrumental in disposing Linnankoski's Cain for the deed. Of course, what we see and hear in the drama is typical of the struggle of all mankind. But Linnankoski's way of bringing out these ideas is wrong so far as it concerns this act. It is to be hoped that the young poet will recast certain parts of the work; so I give no further details about these two dozen devils, the Messrs. Hawksclaw (avarice), Stiffneck (haughtiness), Fiery Red (hatred), Unquenchable (revenge), Hundred Fingers (lust of power), Stonefoot (oppression); the Mesdames Foxear (idle curiosity), Greeneye (envy), Volup-

tuons (sexual desire), and other male and female worthies. Lucifer himself is the proud, tempestuous rebel so well known from Milton's and Byron's pages. But at the same time a most perceptible streak of the buffoon runs through his nature; he can be a most undignified fellow, given to coarse laughter, ludicrous mimicking of pious people, and the use of such expressions as "The devil take it" and similar profane language. He recalls to us frequently some of the traits found in the popular devil and the terrestrial edition *en miniature* of his Satanic majesty—a very bad boy. He says,

You, my demons, are germs in man's blood. He yonder calls us "Evil." The fool! What is evil? I am it. And nevertheless I spring from the same root of origin as everything else. . . . Where is the boundary line? Yes, the boundary line, O thou Master of the Six Days, that does not exist at all. No, no, it exists, but *I* am it. I am the boundary line that opens the eyes and conducts man to the waves of the Stream of Life. . . . Do I hate man? Why should I? He has been created without his asking for it just like all the others. Do I desire his suffering? Why should I? Has he done anyone a wrong? . . . I wish man well, but how can I help it that joy seems to be tied to suffering—I cannot separate these two sisters from each other. And why should not man also suffer if his sufferings are requited? And I will requite them. Let them suffer and struggle, but let them also take deep draughts of enjoyment. So kindle the torch of life! I know it is the torch of sorrow, but it is also the torch of warmth, therefore they will suffer gladly. . . . And let them dance! . . . There is but one fundamental thought: down with the phantoms, break in pieces the slave's fetters, make nature free!

Lucifer's new plan of revenging himself on the Creator in his chief handiwork Man is based on the great law that he has observed to govern all the beings of this world—heredity. Together with his spirits he subjects the representatives of the human species to a close scrutiny. Both Adam and Eve are a pair of old fools now, and one of the demons remarks of poor Eve, "O that stupid goose! Why did she have to nibble at that apple *first* although she was created *second*? If she had only offered it to her old man and waited whether anything would have been left for her!" Abel is a mealy-mouthed preacher, a tender of sheep and himself a sheep, Zillah a sweet innocent, just tasting

the first raptures of love, Thamar a child, but Cain and Adah—there's a pair for you! They came into being when the sap of the apple was yet boiling in the veins of Adam and Eve.<sup>1</sup> Adam and Eve can have no more children, Zillah is as yet not pregnant, but Adah is. So speedy action is necessary, Abel must be prevented from begetting offspring., the whole human race to come will then consist of Cain's, the rebel's, descendants and therefore of rebels against God—in accordance with that law of heredity. The evil spirits are not allowed to kill Abel, so he must fall by the hand of his brother. Even the demons are appalled by the boldness of this scheme which promises so many fine consequences and such possibilities of revenge on Jehovah. But how is Cain to be moved to do the deed, loving his brother as he does? Lucifer answers,

Cain's soul is overflowing with the craving for knowledge and freedom and with the presentiment of his own power. These I shall wing for flight. He dreams of a new world, a world of genius, work, and domination. From this I shall start. I shall immerse him deeper in his own dreams, and out of these and out of what I foresee by virtue of my own knowledge I shall create a dazzling, beautiful picture of the future (of the human race). And now when this thought burns and glows red and Abel is all water, humility and honey of the fear of the Lord, then I shall hurl one against the other so that it will give a whiz.

Lucifer's subjects, Pride, Love of Self, Flattery, Deceit, Envy, Calumny, Lust of Power, Avarice, Hate, Revenge, Voluptuousness, Jealousy, etc., also exult in the prospect of being able to influence Cain. They applaud Lucifer's plan that Cain is to slay his brother at the sacrifice the brothers are about to offer up to Jehovah in return for the blessing bestowed on their flocks and fields. "That altar is *his*, he expects the smoke of the sacrifice and wheedling, but he will get—a slap in the face."

The second act is entitled "The Red Bird." Cain is working with a kind of wooden mattock in his newly cleared field, but the prongs break. He is in despair. "Everything breaks—our whole life is like that—it doesn't hold. But *could* it not hold?" Here a Strange Voice whispers, "Could it not hold?"

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Act iii, ll. 506 ff.

*Cain.* Is there no material that would surely hold? That would eat its way through soil, through tree, through stone . . . if one only could find it.

*The Voice.* And why should one not find it? It is found already.

*Cain.* Yes, yes, some things are found. . . . But the red bird still soars in the air.

He inserts a drill in the string of his bow, puts it on the wood, and begins to whirl the drill around. At last the living spark leaps forth, the dry moss at the point of the drill flames up—man can produce fire. In the ecstasy of his delight Cain can hardly believe his senses; he repeats the experiment three times before he is satisfied. He sits down near the fire thus kindled and looks at it in a reverie.

*Cain.* In thee there dwells a soul—now for the first time I comprehend this. Thou movest, thou speakest, if only I could understand thy language. Thou carriest my thoughts along into the distant future.

*The Voice* (as if continuing Cain's thoughts). Why shouldn't I foresee all that?—the wonders and secrets of the future—how fire was at first a little spark, how it grew to be a world power—

*Cain*—how everything springs from the spark. Yes, yes. Of all these things I have a presentiment, but how am I to see what my hope speaks of?

Lucifer now rises out of the ground behind Cain and remains through the whole act behind his back, unseen by Cain, only speaking to him. His words either start new thoughts or complete thoughts already sprung up in Cain. This dialogue between Cain and Lucifer, which extends through the entire act, is, in a way, only the communing of Cain with his own soul. At the same time Lucifer in visions shows and explains to Cain the things that he so ardently desires to behold—the great inventions of the future, which are all due to fire, the force of nature which Cain just now has learned to call forth at will. Cain sees the miners of the future at work in the entrails of mountains and listens to their proud song of the treasure they thus bring to light. After this vision has disappeared the songs of the Spirits of Iron and of blacksmiths are heard and Cain's eye is met by the marvels of a foundry and a smithy. The iron mattocks, axes, plows, and other farm implements forged by the blacksmiths call

forth his delight and admiration. Thereupon a glimpse of the goldsmith's art is afforded him. But sights still more wonderful are to follow. On a clear lake a rather large ship formed like a water bird with eyes of fire glides along. Steam issues from the bill of this bird, in it are many people, who wave their handkerchiefs, and a band of musicians is playing. When this vision has vanished, a long, loud whistling is heard and a locomotive shaped like a horse passes before Cain. Fire are the eyes of this miraculous animal, whirling steam is its mane, its sides are full of round windows, out of which people are looking.<sup>1</sup> Fire is the soul animating all these marvels, and fire is the visible symbol of the mind of man. While Cain is still musing over this, again the sounds of music are wafted to his ear. An airship in the form of a flying bird and illumined by lights of various colors floats through the air. In it sit many people who wave their hats and cheer. Cain is almost speechless with joyful astonishment, but soon he recollects that there is nevertheless a realm into which man cannot peer, the beautiful world of the stars. But Lucifer causes a number of these heavenly bodies to speed by the eye of Cain. Cain realizes that fire is the life and essence also of these seas of splendor, and filled with solemn rapture he expresses his wish to be submerged by this ocean of light when he is to die.<sup>2</sup> Lucifer tries to lead him on to the conviction that the whole earth is not God's, but man's. Cain remonstrates, saying that the earth and man are dependent on God for rain and sunshine. "Yes, now, but not in the future." And Lucifer bids Cain shoot into the clouds with his bow, whereupon rain begins to pour down, and he even raises before Cain's eyes a brilliant sun made of fire by the hand of man, which illumines the whole landscape. That clinches the argument, Cain finally concludes,

Man is the lord of the earth. . . . He himself creates a paradise, there he suffers, struggles, and rejoices—always as his own works deserve.

*Lucifer.* But if the little snake should glide also into that paradise.

*Cain.* The snake? Then it is true after all—?

*Lucifer.* —that . . . ?

<sup>1</sup> The reader will be reminded of a chapter in Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. II, i, 98 ff.

*Cain.* —that there is evil in the world.

*Lucifer.* It is true. But not in earth, tree or beast, but in man himself.

*Cain.* Is that it? Something of that sort I always suspected. But its shape and manner?

*Lucifer.* Hardly perceptible. One distinguishing mark nevertheless is sure.

*Cain.* Which?

*Lucifer.* This, that evil always is at variance with endeavors for the public good.

*Cain.* Ah, such it is—that reminds me of the story of the fallen angels.

*Lucifer* (embarrassed, but with quiet scorn). Yes, yes—and the same spirit appears in man.

*Cain.* Should that be possible?

*Lucifer.* Possible after all. That great aim requires great exertion—but if not all do exert themselves? Some are lazy shepherds.<sup>1</sup>

Now Lucifer has Cain at the point where he wants him. Most artfully, and without ever mentioning Abel, he insinuates to Cain that there are others who are not only indifferent, but inimical to the great schemes the glowing soul of Cain harbors and seeks to realize for the advancement of the human race; that they even try to take away from their toiling brethren what they possess—their fields and meadows, the peace of their homes—their wives. They reap what the others sow and say, "The Lord gave it in his mercy." They even oppose the others and the progress of mankind, and their formula is, "In the name of the Lord." When Cain is thus thoroughly stirred with indignation, Lucifer conjures up before him a phantom battle of the future. The manly instincts of Cain are roused still more strongly by this spectacle and made to pant for the undying glory of the brave fighter. And a still more tempting prospect opens up: the earth thus won by valiant strife will be the victor's, there man will enjoy the fruit of his painful struggle: the new paradise, and in that paradise there will be the reward of rewards for the hero—beautiful woman, and not one woman only, but many, many, as witnessed by Cain (whose simple soul had thought hitherto "One

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gessner's "Tod Abels," in Kürschner's *Deutsche Nationallitteratur*, pp. 109, 144, 150 ff., and for the following the whole dream of Cain in the fourth canto.

woman for one man and she his helpmate") in a new vision, which discloses to his hungering eyes the hero in the midst of a festival in his honor and surrounded by slightly clad young damsels that offer him the intoxicating cup. And the burden of their songs is, "Love and enjoy as long as you can, even if heaven and earth should thus go to ruin; for life is short. To the victor the cup!" Cain is fully in sympathy with such a philosophy and he exclaims, "Man is the lord of joy and pleasure. . . . Now I know whither my path leads and what is my goal. Out of the way with all impediments! . . . Fly, thou red bird! I am the lord of the earth." We see, the red bird is also the symbol of proud, self-gratifying dominion, of the *Herrenmenschentum*.

Intoxicated with these thoughts and feelings of the superman Cain returns to his hut, but he evidently is not one of those Napoleons or Cesare Borgias so fondly dreamed about by Nietzsche. He is in many ways an extremely modern man, a high-strung *Stimmungsmensch*. The reaction sets in. The next act opens up with the fatal sacrifice. Cain begs Abel that they omit it this time, he is so dejected, cannot collect his thoughts for the holy ceremony, does not even know why he should thank the Lord,<sup>1</sup> instead of thanking his own fists that have to wrench everything from the unwilling earth, thinks that work, too, is a burnt offering. But Abel in his childlike narrow-mindedness urges him to engage in this "religious exercise" for the very reason that his mind is so perturbed; it will restore calm to his troubled soul. And finally he mentions that Adah, too, thought Cain might thus at last be filled with a feeling of peace. Cain's jealous suspicion is aroused, his blood begins to boil. "Adah! Why, really—! Do you settle what I have to do—*thou and Adah?*" Finally his anger subsides, his gloom returns, and he again begs to be released from his promise. But Abel is inexorable and bids him choose one of the two altars that are raised for their sacrifices. Cain requests Abel to choose for him, Abel declines because of Cain's birth-right, at last Cain says, "Be it as

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, i, 28; III, 109 ff. Graf informs us that also in Lope de Vega's *Creacion del mundo y primer culpa* Cain declares that he can stand on his own feet and does not owe anything to God. The attitude of Cain in the Towneley Mysteries is somewhat similar.



you wish—I have chosen.”<sup>1</sup> Hitherto Abel, who has to guard the fire they once obtained by a lucky stroke of lightning, used to give Cain a live coal for kindling fire on such occasions. Lucifer and the Archangel Michael appear on the scene, both invisible to the two brothers; they begin to contend for Cain’s soul. Lucifer urges him to refuse Abel’s divine coal and apply his newly discovered method of producing fire, which is as yet unknown to the other human beings. Cain struggles with his own self; on the one hand there is his suspicion of Abel, awakened especially by Abel’s mention of Adah and by a seemingly too great familiarity between the two on the previous evening, on the other hand, his love for his brother and the almost unmistakable proofs of Abel’s innocence, good nature, and piety. Michael admonishes Cain to desist from offering up the sacrifice on account of his unfit state of mind, Lucifer goads him on, and the devil can quote Scripture, too, for his argument. Michael exhorts him to humility, Lucifer awakens his pride. And pride carries it; he refuses the coals offered by Abel and proceeds to kindle fire by means of his drill and bow. Abel is surprised at the new discovery, but after a few moments admonishes him to thank the Lord for this wonderful gift. This causes Cain’s wrath to flame up again. “*I made the bow.*” Finally their sacrifices are lighted and Abel asks Cain to begin to pray, Cain being the elder. But Cain begs Abel to take the lead, as he is not used to such things.<sup>2</sup> The younger brother launches forth into a lengthy, submissive, and indeed very excellent prayer, which in the drama is frequently interrupted by silent fervor, by the speeches of Michael and Lucifer, and by Cain’s prayer. And this is the way Cain prays,

Jehovah, thou who art honesty and truth, hear an honest man’s prayer. I am not an expert at praying, nor do I simply comply with a good custom, but my heart is full of anguish. Also I do not ask thee for mercy or gifts, but I should like to keep myself what I obtained by dint of my own exertions. I want to be an honest, straightforward man, both with thee and others; I do not object to suffering for my own deeds, but I hope I shall not have to suffer for the deeds of others. Give us a fair chance to work and struggle on earth, but we ourselves desire to enjoy also down

<sup>1</sup> Cf. III, 188-210.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. III, 220-23.

here the fruits of our work and struggle. I have never seen thee and I know nothing of thee, but I believe that thou art right-minded. Now we want to keep the spot that we are tilling and do not want to be driven forth into the wilderness. I thank thee that thou hast not given everything to us ready made, but hast allowed room for the exercise of thy gift, the intellect—I rejoice over those victories that we have gained over the creation created by thee, over that creation which thou in thy mercy hast—

*Lucifer.* —created barren, full of blood-thirsty wild beasts, an eternal battle-field.

Lucifer has been communicating impious and disturbing thoughts to Cain during his whole prayer, while Michael has tried to lead him back to the path of good. The conflict almost drives him mad, and by this last remark of the Evil Spirit Cain is so disconcerted that he cannot go on. Abel continues all the time in his divinely serene and humble devotion. Cain finally stammers in heart-rending anguish, "Jehovah! I do not know—I do not understand—here is the offering for Thee—the offering of work—the offering of sweat—the offering of anguish." In this moment the sacrifice of Abel sends up a clear, high flame and Abel's words ring out triumphantly, "Praised and exalted be the Lord," etc. But poor Cain's offering will not burn, a gust of wind sweeps along and carries the smoke into Cain's eyes. Goaded on by Lucifer he exclaims, "Dost thou mock me, Jehovah? Dost thou despise an honest man's offering? Dost thou love laziness, blood, the pain of the sacrificial sheep?"<sup>1</sup> A terrible fit of rage overpowers Cain, he takes a billet of wood, beats and scatters the altar with it, shouting:

*Cain.* Thou creator of creeping beings (beats)! Thou god of fawners (beats)! Thou sender of the serpent (beats)! Thou scorner of honest work (beats)! Thou eater of meat and blood (beats)! Thou (beats) thou (beats) thou—"

*Abel.* Cain, Cain! What are you doing? Do not touch the altar, it is consecrated to the Lord.

*Cain.* Don't meddle with my affairs—the altar is mine (beats).

But Abel runs toward him with outstretched hands, intending to quiet him, and exclaims, "In the name of the Lord I set myself against this profanation of the holy. . . ." *Cain.* "In the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Byron and the last paragraph of Gessner's third canto.

name of the Lord! Now I understand what you are. Out of my way!" *Abel*. "Not a step!" Cain rushes toward him crying in a voice that almost chokes with rage, "You don't want to? Out of my way, devil!" and strikes him. Abel falls and Lucifer declares, "I, I have won."<sup>1</sup>

The second half of this act is entitled "The Thunderstorm." Zillah and Adah stand near Abel's body, Cain sits on the ground at a little distance, wrapped in deep gloom. Zillah, the leaves of the trees, the flowers, the grass, and the ephemerae wail in lyrical effusions over the death of Abel. Adah, who has gone to inform the others, returns with Adam, Eve, and Thamar. *Adam*. "My God, what is this?" *Adah*. "Death—death has come!" They first deem it the work of the snake or of the evil powers.<sup>2</sup> But when Adam finds out that Cain has done the deed he curses him in the sublimely gruesome fashion of the old Hebrew writers (turned to such good account also by Byron's Eve).<sup>3</sup> Eve and Adah try to pacify him but he rebuffs Eve with the reproach, "Thou eater of the apple, thou listener to the serpent!" and goes on:

Accursed be he who raised his hand against his brother and broke the holy cord of life—ten times accursed! Greedy earth that drankest this innocent blood, open thy mouth and swallow the murderer of his brother alive!—No, let him live for a hundred generations! Like a hunted wild beast let him wander from place to place!<sup>4</sup> . . . heaven, deny him thy dew! may the ears of corn and the fruit that he grows drip blood!—may the water in his spring be blood.<sup>5</sup> And accursed be his seed, may it dry up in his loins!

<sup>1</sup> Cf. III, 288 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. III, 370 and III, 381 ff.

<sup>3</sup> It certainly seems better that Adam, and not Eve, utter these maledictions. Byron's own sad experiences with his mother and his rake's career are to be held accountable for the terrible curse of Eve in his drama, which I consider a stain on this magnificent poem. Mothers are not given to cursing their own sons and least of all if they happen to be Cains—the black sheep of the family. In the "Erschlagene Abel" of the *Kraftgenie* Maler Müller, Adam after hearing from his son's own lips the avowal of his guilt, wants to kill him and an angel has to lay hold of his hair and throw him on the ground in order to prevent him. Cain himself hurls wild reproaches at his parents—him they hated, Abel they loved. Abel has robbed him of his sacred rights. One is reminded of Klinger's *Geschoister*. This sketch of Maler Müller's is not mentioned by Graf. Here, too, Maler Müller was pricked by the laurels of Gessner, to whom he owes not a little. Klopstock, in his drama *Der Tod Adams*, has Cain come to Adam just before Adam's death in order to curse him (Zweite Handlung, Fünfter Auftritt).

<sup>4</sup> I distinctly remember that Jean Paul somewhere identifies Ahasverus, the Wandering Jew with Cain. So Hamerling mistakes in supposing that he himself is the first to have done this (in his *Ahasverus in Rom*).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. III, 432.

Here Cain interposes, but Adam continues:

. . . . Beget children, beget so many that they shall fill the wilderness and may they do by thee as thou hast done by thy brother!<sup>1</sup> . . . . And when the hour of departing this life arrives for thee, may it be full of dread and terror! May the earth deny a last shelter to thy wretched body, may the storm scatter thy bones broadcast over the fields and may invisible teeth tear to pieces thy vile soul from eternity to eternity!

Eve and Adah again intercede for Cain, but Adam commands Adah to leave Cain. She resists most firmly. Adam calls them a lot of rebels against himself and Jehovah. Finally even Zillah implores forgiveness for the slayer of her husband, and Eve addresses Adam with words so powerful that he is deeply moved and allows Adah to assist in carrying the body away. Cain is left alone with the upbraiding and lamenting voices of the wind, the birds, the trees, Mother Earth, the waves, and the storm that is gathering.<sup>2</sup> Adah returns to her husband, he bids her leave him as the others have left him, and fly from the curse that is upon him. He is tormented by keen remorse and black despair. He cannot understand why he killed his brother, he cannot comprehend that gentle, kind Abel should have been a living man a few moments ago and now—dead and cold! The murderer did not realize that this would be the effect of his blow.<sup>3</sup> "Man is like a mouse—burrows, runs about—a big foot comes down—all is over. This is man, the image of God." The thunderstorm now is above their heads, but Cain calls Jehovah a mean rascal and shakes his fist in the face of thundering and lightning heaven, "These are still free. Man against Man! Yet I am Cain." Poor Adah in her horror finally succeeds in hurrying him to their hut, while she prays, "My God, my God, do not deliver us over to darkness."

The fourth and last act bears the title "Out into the Wilderness." Cain and Adah are sitting under a tree ready to start out.

<sup>1</sup> According to an old tradition Cain was really killed by one of his descendants, Lamech. See Graf, *La poesia di Caino*, pp. 193, 194.

<sup>2</sup> A thunderstorm after the crime also in Gessner's and in Maler Müller's "Abel."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. III, 323 ff.

*Adah.* Look around you, Cain. The air is light and cool—it calls. On the shoulders of the wood there is the shining mantle of the moon—it calls. And you are again calm and desire to live—we are ready.

*Cain.* I desire to live since life is a necessity.

But he goes on to complain that something had snapped in him, that all his force seemed spent, that he could not brace himself any more, even by enthusiasm for the future and for freedom, for he had sinned grievously against freedom by depriving another of the freedom most essential of all—of the freedom to live.

*Cain.* The thought of the future is dead within me—and so am I myself dead. . . .<sup>1</sup>

*Adah.* And nevertheless we *have* to look forward—into the future.

*Cain.* Into emptiness.—Oh, Oh, Oh, I did not only kill my brother, but my own child—my future.

*Adah.* Your child? It . . . (Her face shows that her mind is deeply moved, and gradually a strange light gathers on it. She presses her hand against both sides of her heart and listens.) *Cain!* It lives! It is found! It is in me!

*Cain.* What? Are you out of your mind?

*Adah.* I am—from joy. Life! Victory! It lives, it *moves*. Everything lives, moves, vibrates, sparkles. Put your hand here, Cain!

*Cain.* You rave. What moves?

*Adah.* Life—the future—you, I—Jehovah moves within me. Don't you understand. *The child! Our child!* That of which we dreamed so much, but which we had forgotten in our sorrow. Put your hand here, Cain!

*Cain* (horrified). This hand?

*Adah.* Just that—here, under my heart. With it you feel the heartbeats of the future and these heartbeats will in turn also make your own heart beat.

*Cain* (trembling with emotion). My God, it lives, it lives. (He grasps Adah's hand fervidly, looks deep into her eyes.) Mother!

*Adah.* Father!

*Cain* (suddenly withdraws from her). Father? But his father is the murderer of his own brother!

*Adah.* Why such words again? Give me your hand, Cain—no, father, father, a thousand times father! What part does the child have in our errors? At that time dark thoughts did not yet move within you. It is the best that was in you and given in love. Everything that was good in me and you lives in it.

<sup>1</sup> III, 347, 348.

*Cain.* These heartbeats may just as well be the wild pulsations of future sins.

*Adah.* Never! Can't you believe that forgiveness is possible, that this is the token of mercy and consolation, the message of a new and purer world?

*Cain.* I too have been pure, of me too they hoped.<sup>1</sup>

*Adah.* And your road is not yet traversed to the end—the child's path only begins. Let us love it, and by the power of this love it will walk a new road and open up also to us the path of expiation.

*Cain.* The path of expiation? Do you think so?

*Adah.* Not only do I think so, but a voice in my bosom cries and asseverates that it is possible this way.

*Cain.* That the child was . . . ?

*Adah* (rejoicingly). —that new goal! Just think—*our* child, maybe a boy. It is pure and innocent, the seed of the future generation, which will take in hand what we ourselves could not do on account of our errors.

*Cain.* It will continue where we had to leave off, will realize what we dreamed of . . . ?

*Adah.* Exactly so. The spark of hope that we take out with us into the wilderness.

*Cain* (with assurance). And for which we will *suffer and struggle*.

They go on discussing the new and great thing that has come into their lives and that deepens, strengthens, and ennoble even their love. But soon Cain again falls into blackest despondency. His crime is too great to remain unavenged. "The brother's hand against the brother; why not in the following generation the son's hand against the father; that would only be—" The Archangel Michael appears, announces to Cain that God's curse is neither upon him, nor upon his descendants, and imprints the mark on his forehead which is to keep others from harming Cain. "And now, Cain, go thy way and by struggling obtain expiation for thyself." Let him who wants to be master of the world first learn to be master of himself."

Before they depart Eve and Zillah come to bid them farewell. Eve complains about the wicked snake, but Cain expresses his belief that the snake is in man's own bosom and tells her that the angel of the Lord appeared to them and bade him struggle with himself and vanquish himself. Adah whispers her secret to the

<sup>1</sup>Cf. III, 489 ff.

<sup>2</sup>Better, *Erkämpfe dir Veröhnung*.

two women, and these glad tidings mitigate to some extent their keen sorrow. Then the two set out for the wilderness, from which is heard the roar of the lion. On the way Cain again gives utterance to his brooding thoughts and questionings. "What is life? What is man? What is God?" Eve stands before Cain's deserted hut, weeping and looking after her children who are going into exile. Michael approaches and comforts her, also announcing to her the birth of another son similar to Abel. When the two women have gone Lucifer steps up to Michael with cutting sarcasms. The angel of the Lord points out to him that he made a mistake again, but Lucifer answers his arguments and finishes by saying, "You forgot that I too go with them into the wilderness." Cain comes running back to get his bow for kindling fire—"comrade and brother anyhow, no matter what has happened." Michael in the course of his last conversation with Lucifer says,

Only he is the original being, who is the origin of all, the others are *forms*—and likewise thou also. . . . It is true, for awhile thou canst extinguish the light, but even in the night they will sigh for their original union (with God, whom Michael declares to be love). And from that sigh will be born the child of hope—the new time. It rises slowly, but it rises nevertheless, and the hour of freedom will one day strike for the suffering. The universe will again chime into harmony, heaven and earth will draw nigh each other; hatred, persecution will vanish, the lion and the lamb will walk side by side on the pasture—the spirit of the Lord will fill everything. And when this hour shall once have come, then also thy end will have come—thou too, thou wild voice of battle and strife, wilt dissolve into the same harmony, wilt disappear.

But Lucifer denies,

I am what I am—I am as eternal as thy lord. And as long as I exist, let heaven and earth tremble before me.

*Michael.* Then thou wilt not cease sooner?

*Lucifer.* No.

*Michael.* Then our struggle will be perpetual.

*Lucifer.* Eternal!

Lucifer and Michael vanish. The edge of the horizon brightens and the sun rises casting a red light over the landscape. A bird begins to twitter in a tree.



We see here we have no Byronian Manicheism or dualism, but rather a kind of pantheism. It seems clear enough that only *Lucifer* thinks that the battle between good and evil will go on for all eternity. It will certainly go on as long as the universe, the world of phenomena exists; in that sense it will be perpetual. But Michael, the exponent of the highest truth, predicts the final great consummation, the ἀποκατάστασις τῶν πάντων of Origen and others. But also from the point of view of mankind it will be the eternal struggle. Man's lot is to fall and to rise again, his mission, to overcome the evil in his own nature, to work for the material, intellectual, and ethical advancement of the race; above all to increase continually in nobility of soul and to contribute in this way—the most effectual of all—toward making the world a better and happier world and toward developing a higher human species. This is part of a fundamental difference between Byron and Linnankoski. Byron's Cain is an exponent of *Weltschmerz*.<sup>1</sup> He also "always mourns for Paradise," that is, Paradise lost. Linnankoski's Cain doesn't care a straw about that old story of Eden. His whole fiery, dreaming soul is bent on creating a paradise of his own. Byron's Cain is of the same kith and kin as Naciketas, the ardent questioner in the *Kaṭhopanishad*, who yearns for a solution of the great riddle, "What is death?" Everything in Byron's drama centers about the thought of death, and the deep tragedy of Cain's life is this that he whose feelings and thoughts rebel so strongly and incessantly against death and who replies to Lucifer's question, "What sate nearest thy heart?"—"The mystery of Death" (II, i, 138 ff.), is the very one who first introduces death to mankind. The climax of the drama terminates and is summed up in the cry of Zillah, "Death is in the world" and in the words of Cain,

And who hath brought him there?—I, who abhor  
The name of death so deeply that the thought  
Empoisoned all my life, before I knew  
His aspect—I have led him there, and given  
My brother to his cold and still embrace,  
As if he would not have asserted his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. I, i, 83 ff.; II, ii, 279; III, 37.

Inexorable claim without my aid.  
 I am awake at last—a dreary dream  
 Had maddened me;—but *he* shall ne'er awake!

(III, 371 ff.)

Linnankoski's Cain is only concerned with life. His musings about death are either incidental to his musings about life or are brought about by his own bloody deed. The eye of Byron's Cain looks backward into the past; and Lucifer, too, shows him chiefly past worlds, for even the world to be peopled by the dead of the future (now already partly peopled by pre-Adamite men and animals) is a world of the past; of "present worlds" there is only the vision of the heavenly bodies. Of the future there is really nothing, in spite of Lucifer's promise, "I will show . . . the history of past and present and of future worlds" (II, ii, 23 ff.). Linnankoski's Cain consecrates himself entirely to the future, the better, brighter, greater, nobler future, and to *him* Lucifer reveals the glorious achievements the future has in store for mankind.

Most closely connected with these fundamental differences is the solution of the greatest and most difficult problem in the story of Cain, "What made him slay his brother?" The psychological explanation apparently intended by the Bible did not satisfy Byron. He says,

Cain is a proud man: if Lucifer promised him kingdoms, etc., it would *elate* him: the object of the Demon is to *depress* him still further in his own estimation than he was before, by showing him infinite things and his own abasement, till he falls into the frame of mind that leads to the catastrophe, from mere *internal* irritation, not premeditation, or envy of Abel (which would have made him contemptible), but from the rage and fury against the inadequacy of his state to his conceptions, and which discharges itself rather against Life, and the author of Life, than the mere living.<sup>1</sup>

This "internal irritation" vented on an unoffending being near and dear to Cain may not have seemed "contemptible" to Byron, who himself was given to unaccountable "fits of rage," but Lady Byron probably took a somewhat different view, and to us it will seem at least slightly puerile. Linnankoski is certainly much

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Moore, November 3, 1821.

more fortunate in his motivation of the deed. With him Cain is elated by his own achievements, and his pride and self-sufficiency contribute powerfully toward bringing about the catastrophe. He is hardly susceptible of envy,<sup>1</sup> but very strong is his feeling for right and justice and honesty, he is enraged at the thought that some one else might take away the fruit of his own toil. Woman and lust also allure him, and the suspicion that another might rob him of his wife proves fatal. He has also been "elated" by the magnificent prospects of the future shown to him by Lucifer; his finer self exults in all the good that will arise for mankind out of his all-important mastery over fire; and the more animal part of him anticipates a world of delight shed by woman and glory—and now he is thrust back into the narrow atmosphere of Abel's childlike and uncomprehending piety that stifles and exasperates him. But most powerful of all, in preparing him for the bloody act, is the idea that ruin threatens his noble work for the benefit of future generations. Linnankoski's Cain is a *man*, Byron's *ein genialer Junge*, or rather almost a woman, thus resembling his great creator, in whose image he was made. We also need not wonder that Byron's Cain is hardly anything else but an idle dreamer. He hates toil, and his good, divine Adah no doubt had to confess time and again,

Thou hast laboured not

This morn; but I have done thy task. (I, i, 137, 138)

Linnankoski's Cain, on the other hand, stands for work, work raised in our own times from her Cinderella position to her princely rank. Carlyle and others of that ilk have not lived in vain. Nor has Nietzsche, notwithstanding all his extravagances. We have profited, and Linnankoski has profited. A comparison

<sup>1</sup> Byron's *Cain* confesses that he is, II, ii, 331 ff. Cain is impelled by envy or jealousy also in the Armenian Legend. "Adam and Eve loved Abel dearly. Cain was jealous of their partiality. He wished to kill his brother, but knew not how. Satan took the form of a raven, picked a quarrel with another raven, and in Cain's presence cut his opponent's throat with a pointed black pebble. Cain picked up the stone, hid it in his girdle, proposed to his brother a walk on the mountain, and there cut his throat with a pebble. The peasants of Armenia to this day call flints 'Satan's nails,' and conscientiously break every pointed black one they may find." To wash away the blood from his hands Cain held them in a waterfall "day and night, summer and winter, during a whole year, without sleep and without food, but at the end of that time they were still as crimson as on the day of the crime."—LUCY M. J. GARNETT, *The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore*, London, 1893, Vol. I, p. 274.

of his drama with Byron's points to many things. Byron's *Cain* was written in 1821; in 1819 Schopenhauer published his principal work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, and at that very time Leopardi's wonderful genius surprised Italy. The atmosphere was impregnated with *Weltschmerz*. But Linnankoski has only been quickened, not overpowered, by Nietzscheanism or individualism, which is only one of the *roads* that may, and ultimately surely will, lead to something greater, though in itself it is neither noble, nor new, for India had her most consistent and radical individualists thousands of years ago. He utilizes also other material, and Byron's *Cain* has perceptibly influenced his drama, but the structure thus reared is his own.<sup>1</sup>

It was a happy thought to make Cain also a kind of Prometheus—the bringer of fire, the first great pathfinder, whose intellect is not only busied with philosophic speculations but also, and above all, with practical life. He is full of enterprise and vigor, whereas Byron's Cain, this first man born of woman, staggers under the heavy *Weltmüdigkeit* of an old, old world—an aristocratic *elegant*, younger and nobler brother of Childe Harold. Byron's poem, in spite of its failings the most beautiful of all of his productions, moves in stately majesty and elevating sublimity along the heights, Linnankoski's prose drama is pitched in a far more terrestrial key—we find ourselves in a simpler, much more primitive world. Even his devils have a rustic tinge, and Cain is a brilliant-minded sturdy peasant. Of all the existing poetic treatments of the subject these two seem to be the greatest—Byron's magnificent chant of death and Linnankoski's triumphant psalm of life: the inspiring hymn of the eternal struggle.<sup>2</sup>

JOHN JACOB MEYER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

<sup>1</sup> Besides the similarities pointed out, some others could be quoted. Still we must not forget that human nature, the principal source of every true poet, is everywhere the same. If the spirit of ever-unsatisfied painful prying into the mysteries of the world animates also Linnankoski's Cain, he resembles Byron's Cain and every human being that belongs to a higher intellectual order. If also Linnankoski's Adah clings to her blood-stained husband she is like many another noble and loving woman. Other *poesie di Caino* besides Byron's drama do not seem to have influenced Linnankoski.

<sup>2</sup> I hope my words are not understood to imply that I consider Linnankoski a greater poet than Byron. It may be mentioned that Linnankoski's drama, like so many Finnish books, would profit here and there by compression. *Dichten*, "to compose poetry," not in its etymology, but in its sense, is the same as *dichten*, "to condense;" *Dichtung* ist *Verdichtung*.



## A SEMASIOLOGIC DIFFERENTIATION IN GERMANIC SECONDARY ABLAUT

The following paper attempts to give an approximately full list of words exhibiting a certain semasiologic differentiation: in the nature of the subject no absolutely definite limits can be drawn; some may find too much included, some, too little.

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Where the dictionaries give definitions in Swedish, Danish, or Dutch, these have been translated into English—Björkeman, Larsen, and Calisch being the guides used.

The words are arranged by consonants, but, especially in the case of medial consonants, it was often impossible to keep to strict separation and order. The form usual in the modern dialects is the one considered; thus Germanic *hw*, *hr*, *hl*, are under *w*, *r*, *l*, not *h*. The order of consonants is the following: *p*, *b*, *f*, *m*; *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *l*, *r*; *k*, *g*, *j*, *h*, (*nk*, *ng*), *v*.

The writer's thanks are due to Professor Francis A. Wood for helpful suggestions given both personally and through his publications, especially his *Indo-European a<sup>x</sup>:a<sup>x</sup>i:a<sup>x</sup>u*.

# I

A striking characteristic of the Germanic family of languages is its feeling for vowel grades and vowel variations. A few inherited vowel variations become, in the "strong" verbs, models for the expression of tense differences. Derivative nouns and verbs also stand—at least in the older dialects—in a definite ablaut relation to their primitives: one need only cite the old causative verbs or nouns such as NHG. *Schnitt*, *Schuss*, *Fang*. In short, the vocalism of Germanic is characterized by a vivid sensibility to a few ablaut variations, such as *a-ō*, *e-a-ē*, *i-a-u*, and for these ablaut variations as bearers of meaning.



Though this predisposition has remained, the last fifteen hundred years have changed the well-defined system of the old Germanic. The systematic parallelism of the strong verbs is still felt—we inflect one strong verb by the analogy of another—but in the nouns and weak verbs the change has been thoroughgoing. Formations have multiplied, new methods of formation have arisen, new stems or “bases” have been created.

No phonetic process could derive, for instance, NHG. (Pruss.) *knibbern*, *knabbern*, *knubbern*—which are felt as connected—from a single Germanic ablaut base: such sets of forms are the result of analogy—in some cases of centuries of analogic formation and re-formation. In some cases, among which we may probably include the above example, the sensitiveness to onomatopoeic vowel variations (as in *bim* : *bam* : *bum*, *piff* : *pauff* : *puff*) has created part of the parallel forms from the nucleus of a single Germanic base; in other instances the approach of two somewhat similar bases might give the appearance of relationship and then cause new forms to be made in imitation. Thus the approach of two IE. roots in Dutch dial. *nippen* ‘pinch’ (<G.\**hnīpan*, cf. E. *nip*, ON. *hnippa* ‘stossen’) and Dutch *noppen* ‘nop, pick cloth’ (<G.\**hneupan*, cf. E. *nop*, ON. *hnupla* ‘weggraffen’) may have caused like parallel-forms to arise from a single root of either type. Cf. Wood, *Indo-European*  $a^x$  :  $a^x i$  :  $a^x u$ , especially § 408.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the MHG. has *knabbern* : *knubbern* ‘nagen,’ *kittern* ‘kichern’ : *kuttern* ‘girren, lachen;’ the Waldeck dialect *ferlat-sken* ‘Schuhe breit treten’ : *ferlutsken* ‘durch unordentlichen Gebrauch verderben,’ *sprikel* n. ‘Reiser; dürres Kind’ : *sprokel* n. ‘kleines, dürres Holz;’ the East Frisian has *nibbe nib* f. ‘Schnabel, Mund : *nubbe nub* f. ‘Knuff, Stoss, Schlag;’ the E. forms like *flip* : *flap* : *flop*, *tip* : *tap* : *top* : *tup*, dialectic *tip* ‘a ram’ : *tup* ‘a ram,’ or *dab* : *daub* : dial. *dub* ‘bungler, idiot.’

The relation in such sets of words is as much an ablaut relation as that in E. *lie* : *lay*, *sing* : *sang* : *sung* or Greek *λείπω* : *λείπον* : *ἔλιπον*. In the above-cited cases the ablaut is “secondary”

<sup>1</sup>Phonetic changes, such as umlaut or the E., Dutch, and HG. change of Germanic  $o > u$  ( $u$ ) have also created sets of forms that have been analogically imitated. Some of the examples that follow are due to this.

or later, that is all—and it may be that a study of the cases nearer to us, where origins are often more apparent, may give us some help in penetrating into the mystery of the “original” or IE. ablaut. With this ultimate end in view a number of examples are here given of secondary Germanic ablaut forms exhibiting a certain more or less well-known feature of semasiologic differentiation, a development such as must have had part in the formation of the IE. vowel system.

## II

The commonest form of the Germanic secondary ablaut is that of the vowels *i-a-u*.<sup>1</sup> The origin of this ablaut is apparent, though not in every case traceable. Parallel roots of the types IE. *kneb*, *kneib*, and *kneub* might give the Germanic forms *hnapan*, *hnipan*, *hnupan*; and if these became associated in the feeling of the speaker they might lead him to form sets like NHG. *knabbern* : *knibbern* : *knubbern*. Or else a root of the nasal and liquid series would give derivatives like E. *slink* : dial. *slank* : dial. *slunk*, and the German words could have been modeled after such a set of forms.<sup>2</sup> The part that umlaut and other phonetic developments may have played has been mentioned; also the independent feeling we have today for onomatopoeic variants like *bim* : *bam* : *bum*—this feeling may have been developed by the other factors.

There is a good reason why the vowels *i* : *a* : *u* are common in sets of connected words. Of all the vowels these three are farthest separated in the scale of natural pitch—they differ most, from one another, in acoustic effect and in anatomic production; so that if several distinct forms (out of a possible greater number) are to be created or are to survive, these forms with their clearly marked character will be the most favored—especially if a differentiation of meaning is at the same time developing. Thus it is natural, if words with distinct meanings were to sur-

<sup>1</sup> Examples below. Cf. Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, 22; Paul, *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte*<sup>2</sup>, 144 ff.; Wood, *Indo-European* *ax* : *ax i* : *ax u*; Goettsch, *Mod. Phil.*, VI, 253 ff.

<sup>2</sup> In Scandinavian, especially, the nasal or liquid could not have been felt as a necessary adjunct of *i* : *a* : *u* ablaut, since the nasal early disappeared in verbs like ON. *drekk* : *drakk* : *drukken*, Dan. *drikke* : *drak* : *drukken*.

vive, that we have, for instance, MHG. *kittern* 'kichern' : *kuttern* 'girren, lachen,' rather than, say, \**kettern* : \**köttern*.

Although there are many cases of secondary ablaut with less extreme vowels than *i* : *a* : *u*, the principle just stated has been an important factor in the development of the modern Germanic vocabularies. We have seen how an old ablaut base—a strong verb IE. \**sleng-* Germanic \**slinkan* E. *slink*, let us say—has given rise to a number of words—as E. *slink* (strong verb) : dial. *slank* (weak verb) : dial. *slunk* (weak verb). Such words are perhaps often identical in meaning, cf. NHG. (Pruss.) *knibbern* : *knabbern* 'hastig und mit Geräusch nagen,' but it is natural if not inevitable that such words should become semasiologically differentiated. E. *slink* 'sneak' : dial. *slank* 'go about in listless fashion' : dial. *slunk* 'wade through a mire' are examples.

What has determined the direction of this differentiation of meaning? In many cases the old laws of derivation must have been decisive. Germanic \**prangjan* is the causative of \**prin-* *gan* : hence NHG. *drängen* : *dringen*; this explains the difference in meaning of the two words, the transitive use of the former while the latter, at least in its literal sense, is intransitive. The meaning of NHG. *würfeln* is explained by its being a regular denominative from the noun *Würfel*, which in turn is regularly derived from the base in *werfen*. But one cannot so explain the meanings of *slink* : *slank* : *slunk*, nor indeed the great majority of such modern Germanic word groups: another force has been at work.

This force is the old inherent Germanic sense for vowel pitch. It is by the pitch of the stem vowel that sets of words like *slink* : *slank* : *slunk* have become differentiated.

If a word designating some sound or noise contains a high pitched vowel like *i* it strikes us as implying a high pitch in the sound or noise spoken of; a word with a low vowel like *ū* implies low pitch in what it stands for. For Germanic we need only think of NHG. *bim!* : *bam!* : *bum!* or E. *screech* : *boom*. Who would apply *Bim!* to the roar of a cannon, *Bum!* to the tinkling of a bell? And *Bam!* would better fit the bang of a fist on the

*Biertisch* than either of the above noises.<sup>1</sup> Church Slavick *krikŭ* 'Geschrei,' *kričati* 'schreien': *krakati* 'krächzen'; Greek *κρίζω* 'knarre': *κράζω* 'schreie': *κράχζω* 'krächze'; *κνίζω* 'ritze, kratze, reize': *κνύζω* 'kratze,' *κνυζάω* 'knurre, winsele'; *βάζω* 'rede': *βύζω* 'schreie wie der Uhu' (Wood, *Indo-European a<sup>x</sup> : a<sup>x</sup> i : a<sup>x</sup> u*) and similar words illustrate this general principle, but so far as I know no full material illustrating its operation has ever been collected. Its far-reaching effects on our vocabulary are surprising. It has affected not only words descriptive of sound like E. *screech*, *boom*, or the doublet MHG. *kittern* : *kuttern*; for not only the direct imitative values of the vowels have come into play, but also their more remote connotative effects. A high tone implies not only shrillness but also fineness, sharpness, keenness; a low tone not only rumbling noise, but also bluntness, dullness, clumsiness; a full open sound like *ā* not only loudness, but largeness, openness, fulness. Nor must the subjective importance of the various mouth positions that create the different vowel sounds be forgotten: the narrow contraction of *i*, the wide opening of *ā*, the back-in-the-mouth tongue position of *ū* are as important as the effect of these vowels on the ear of the hearer.<sup>2</sup> Though there are many exceptions, due for the most part to the older rules of derivation above illustrated—such words belong to an older stratum—yet the development in question is a very common and characteristic one for Germanic wherever a number of words standing to each other in a relation of secondary ablaut have become differentiated as to meaning.

An impetus to this development was surely given by such purely onomatopoeic words as *bim* : *bam* : *bum*; and another impetus may have been accidental models. Thus NHG. *dringen* implies the penetration of some small, usually sharp object into a larger one; *drängen* meant originally to cause such penetration, and neither the subject nor the action of the verb *drängen* needed to be fine, small, or penetrant: in this case the relative vowel

<sup>1</sup> This general fact has been remarked by many observers, not only by linguists but also by critics of style—especially of poetic style where vowel tones play an important rôle. Cf. most fully perhaps A. H. Tolman in the *Andover Review* for March, 1887, the *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1895, and in his *The Views about Hamlet and Other Essays* (Boston, 1904).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., most recently, Thomson, *IF.*, XXIV, 1 ff.

qualities of the words happened to accord with the meanings: and on such an accidental model the forms in question would multiply.

The following is a list of modern Germanic secondary ablaut sets that show this differentiation. The etymologist will find some sets of words in which several old ablaut bases are involved, others in which one base has by regular phonetic derivation given rise to all the forms, still others whose existence is due to analogy after more or less definite models, and finally words directly due to the sharpened sense for parallelism of vowel sound and meaning—the etymological character of the material does not, however, here concern us.

The practical linguist, the "Kenner" of a given dialect will no doubt find sets of words that are not sets at all, sets of words which no speaker of the dialect ever associates with one another. Where such "sets" of words are not even the result of differentiation from a single origin, our plea must be lack of first-hand acquaintance with the dialect, though it may be remarked that a varying subjective element often enters into one's connecting certain words as related in meaning: thus the writer's judgment as to some words in the dialects familiar to him varied from time to time. There is nevertheless amply enough of indisputable material to illustrate the importance of vowel pitch in semasiologic differentiation of secondary ablaut sets in the modern Germanic dialects.

If we possessed sufficient records of the Germanic tongues in their historic development, each set of words could be traced to its origin from one or several roots, many analogies could be recognized, and the semasiologic development could be observed; but unfortunately the meagerness of our records and their uncolloquial character frustrate such an attempt. Even where parallel forms are met with, our lexicographers have usually been unable to see any divergence in use, though this may often have existed in actual speech. In fact, where a modern lexicon sets up, as equivalent, forms like NHG. (Pruss.) *knibbern* : *knabbern* : *knubbern*, the actual consciousness of the speaker differentiates: thus *knibbern* is a more audible gnawing than *knubbern*, and the object gnawed is harder; *knabbern* refers to a louder but less crisp sound than *knibbern*.

A few words from mediaeval sources are: MDan. *baldre* 'beat, strike': *buldre* 'quarrel, make uproar' (Kalkar); MLG. *nipen* 'kneifen': *nopen napen* 'antasten, anstossen' (Lübben); MHG. *snarren snerren* 'schwatzen, plappern': *snurren* 'rauschen, sausen.'

To repeat: the forms with high-pitched vowel—the scale, running downward, is *i* (*y*), *e* (*ö*), *a*, *o*, *u*—represent high-pitched, clear, shrill sounds, fine, small, bright, flashing, quick, sharp, clear-cut objects or actions; the forms with low-pitched vowel express low, muffled, rumbling, bubbling, sounds and dull, loose, swaying, hobbling, slovenly, muddy, underhand, clumsy actions or objects. The *a* vowel will often express the large, the loud, the rattling, the open. A diphthong is likely to express a wide swing or scope.

The differences between words, not the similarities are, of course, in question.

1. N. *pipla* 'pipe gently (of young birds)': *pupla* 'bubble, prattle.'

E. *peep*: dial. *pip* 'crack the eggshell in hatching,' dial. *pipple* 'cry, whimper': *pop* 'shoot,' *pop out* 'blab': *poop*, dial. *pup* 'cacare': *pipe*.

Dutch *piepen* 'chirp, squeak': *poepen* 'pedere, cacare': *pijpen* 'pipe, whistle.'

OF. *pīpen* 'piepen, wimmern, pfeifen': *pupen* 'leise furzen; seine Notdurft verrichten.'

Westf. *pīpen* 'piepen, wimmern, pfeifen, winselnd ausstehen; küssen': *pupen* 'küssen,' *puppen* 'pedere,' *puppern* 'schlagen (vom Herzen).'

Pr. *pīpen* 'pfeifen, piepen, winseln': *peppeln* 'sprechen, papeln': *pappeln* 'viel, unverständlich sprechen,' *pāpern* 'plappern': *pūpen* 'pedere,' *puppern* 'schnell klopfen (vom Herzen), schnell u. mit dumpfem Laut bewegt werden.'

Lux. *pipen* 'weinen,' *pipsen* 'leise sprechen': *pūpen* 'pedere.' Siebenb. *pīpsn* 'pfeifen, kränkeln': *pū mache* 'cacare.'

2. S. *piff* interjection; m. 'point, spirit, go, pluck': *paff* interjection 'pop!': *puff* m. 'push, pop, puff': *piff paff puff* interjection.

E. dial. *piff* 'a small puff of wind,' dial. *piffle* 'trifle, dawdle,' dial. *piffer* 'whimper, complain peevishly': dial. *paffle* 'fly, peck

at, scatter': *puff* 'blow hard,' dial. 'put out of breath; boast': *piff puff puff*.

OF. *passen* 'laut u. stark Tabak rauchen': *puffen* 'dumpf tönen, klopfen, blähen': *pif pas puf*.

Westf. *passen* 'Dampf hervorstossen beim Rauchen': *puffen* 'puffen, prahlen.'

Pr. *passen* 'knallen, schnell u. hörbar rauchen': *puffen* 'mit "Puff" schallend fallen.'

Lux. *passen* 'Rauchwolken von sich blasen': *pöfferen* 'weh tun': *puffen* 'bauschen.'

Hess. *passen* 'schmauchen': *puffen* 'pedere.'

Thur. *pasen* 'die Tür heftig zuschlagen,' *passen* 'knallen, besonders mit den Lippen beim Tabakrauchen': *puffen* 'stossen; schiessen.'

3. N. *pampa* 'make small stamping or hacking movements': *pumpa* 'walk stamping in something soft.'

S. *pimpla* 'tipple, guzzle': *pumpa* 'pump.'

D. *pimpe* 'tipple,' dial. 'trot slowly; gurgle (of liquids being poured from a bottle),' dial. *pimpgang* 'mincing walk': dial. *pampe* 'be proud, boast; do trifling work': *pumpe* 'pump,' dial. *pumpe* 'bullfrog.'

E. dial. *pimper* 'show daintiness in regard to one's food,' *pimp* 'pander,' dial. 'indulge a squeamish appetite': *pamper* 'coddle, spoil,' dial. 'fret, mess about,' dial. *pample* 'trample lightly; toddle about': *pump* 'draw up water,' dial. 'pedere.'

OF. *pimpeln* 'in kleinen Zügen trinken': *pumpeln* 'watscheln, nachlässig gehen; sich unordentlich kleiden.'

Moselfr. *pempeln*, Siebenb. *pämpeln* 'kränkeln, viel klagen': Moselfr. *Pumpes*, *Pompes*, Siebenb. *Pump* m. 'Schlag mit der Faust auf den Rücken.'

4. N. *pita* 'touch, prick; stick out; walk with small, weak steps,' *pitla* 'walk with short steps, trot, mince,' *pitra* 'spurt out in a thin stream, but with high pressure': *patla* 'trot away, run along': *pota* 'bore; push with a stick.'

S. dial. *pittra* 'write small, scribble': dial. *pottra*, *puttra* 'boil, murmur, talk low.'

E. *patter* 'beat': *potter* 'botch, mess about.'



OF. *patjen* 'patschen, waten, laut im Wasser herumtreten': *putjen, pütjen* 'mit kleinen Schritten gehen oder waten.'

Pr. *pitschen* 'peitschen,' *pitschen, petschn, potschen*, 'mit leisem, langsamem Stosse rudern': *patschen* 'durch Schlamm gehen; im Wasser mit den Händen herumdrehen; mit den Händen schallend zusammenschlagen, mit der Hand klatschen; erzählen': *pitschipatschi* 'ungenannte Person.'

Lux. *putschen* 'waten, schwerfällig gehen; schmauchen; leise krachen; spucken': *putschen* 'ohne Fett braten.'

Hess. *pitschen* 'einen zischenden gelinden Knall geben': *putschn* 'sich heimlich besprechen; heimliche Wege gehen.'

Thur. *pfitschn* 'schwirren, besonders vom dünnen, hellen Geräusch einer ins Wasser geschlagenen Rute': *pfutscheln* 'mit Geräusch durchs Wasser waten.'

5. E. dial. *piddle* 'work triflingly, take short steps': dial. *peddle* 'hawk articles from door to door; work ineffectually': *paddle* 'row,' dial. 'beat; walk with short steps; trample down; finger, handle': dial. *puddle* 'poke, push; work in clay or mud; work in a dirty, disorderly manner; dawdle.'

Pr. *piddlig* adj. 'kleinlich, übertrieben akkurat': *peddeln* 'treten, coire': *paddeln* 'mit kurzen Schritten gehen; watscheln; in Wasser gehen': *puddeln* 'scharren, wühlend sich in Weiches (Betten, etc.) hüllen,' *puddlig* adj. 'rund u. voll in der Körperform.'

Lux. *piddelen* 'krabbeln u. grübeln': *puddelen* 'manschen, im Wasser herumdrehen.'

Moselfr. *piddeln*, Siebenb. *piddern* 'mit den Fingern an etwas herumzupfen': Moselfr. Siebenb. *Padderich* m. 'Dreck, Patsche': Moselfr. *sich puddeln* 'sich im Wasser tummeln,' Siebenb. *sich puddern* 'die Flügel schüttelnd den Staub aufwirbeln.'

Els. *pfattle* 'waten': *pfutle* 'quallern, mit Geräusch hervordringen (wie Wasser aus einer Flasche); verhalten lachen; schlecht waschen,' *pfuttere* 'stossen; im Wasser plätschern.'

6. D. *piste* 'pipe, chirp': *puste* 'blow, puff.'

Els. *pfise* 'zischen, leise singen, pfeifen, furzen; anschwellen; weinen, sich verdrüsslich zeigen': *pfuse* 'zischen, leise furzen; anschwellen; halblaut weinen.'

7. N. *pira* 'itch, prick gently, stick out with a thin point; blink with the eyes; trickle out; be stingy,' *pirra* 'tease a very little, make fun of; give a whirring sound while moving quickly back and forth; stare at' : *pōra* 'prick, push, root in the food (of animals); bother' : *pura* 'work with little progress, dabble, bungle,' *purra* 'bother, vex, play a trick on; give an occasional ill-tempered grunt or growl' : *paura* 'be in constant small movement; crawl, swarm; boil gently; work hard with little progress.'

E. dial. *pirr* 'breeze, breath of wind, flurry; fit of pettish humor,' dial. *pirr up* 'freshen up, blow gently' : *purrr* '(of a cat),' dial. 'push, thrust, stir up, poke; hesitate,' sb. dial. 'a buzzing sound.'

8. S. *picka* 'peck, tick, click,' dial. 'hit small rapid blows with a hammer on copper or brass' : *packa* 'pack, stuff, cram' : *pocka* 'demand insolently; pride oneself,' dial. 'beat, strike, thrash.'

D. *pikke* 'tap, tick' : *pakke* 'pack, cram' : *pokke*, *pukke* 'stamp, beat' : *pukke* 'boast.'

E. *pick* 'peck at; select' : dial. *pake* 'poke about, peep at' : *peck* 'hit lightly' : *pack* 'stuff, cram' : dial. *pock* 'shove, push' : *poke* 'jab into' : dial. *puck* 'hit or strike sharply, butt with the horns' : *puke* 'throw up, vomit.'

Dutch *pikken* 'pick, peck, sneer at' : *pakken* 'pack; grasp, catch' : *poken* 'poke.'

WVL. *pikke* f. 'small sickle,' *pikken* 'cut with the "pikke,"' : *pekken* 'peck at' : *pakken* 'arouse the feelings; take away, steal' : *pokken* 'knock.'

Westf. *picken* 'picken (von Vögeln), schwach schlagen' : *packen* 'packen, fassen; packen, zusammenlegen; umarmen' : *poken* 'schlagen' : *pucken*, *pūken* 'schlecht nähen,' *puckern* 'pochen, schlagen (vom Herzen),' *pucksen* 'plumpen (vom Schalle eines niederfallenden Körpers).'

Pr. *pīken* 'mit spitzem Instrument stechen, stossen' : *pēken* 'mit der Gabel aufheben; klaben; kratzen.'

Lux. *picken* 'stechen' : *peken* 'picken' : *packen* 'packen, anfassen.'

9. S. dial. *pinka* 'hammer copper or brass with small, quick blows, so that a clinking sound is heard': *panka* 'hammer out, make thin.'

E. *pinch* 'zwicken,' dial. *pink* 'strike, beat; contract, peer; trickle, drip': dial. *pank* 'beat; pant': *punch* 'strike with the closed fist.'

Westf. *pinken* 'Geld in die Höhe werfen (vom Tone der anschlagenden Münze),' *pinkeren* 'Feuer schlagen': *punk* m. 'Stück.'

Pr. *pinken* 'den Ton "pink" hervorbringen, hämmern, Feuer schlagen,' *pinksern* 'auf dem Klavier klimpern': *panksen* 'dumpf tönen bei einem Stosse oder Schläge': *punken* 'dumpf tönen': *Pinkepank* m. 'Schmied.'

10. Tir. *pfnäuttern* 'sieden, aufwallen': *pfnotten* 'schmollen': *pfnuttern* 'verhalten lachen.'

11. Pr. *plimpern*, *plempern* 'giessen, im Wasser patschend spielen; plätschernd tröpfeln; giessend regnen': *plempen* 'im Wasser arbeiten': *plampen* 'im Schmutz wühlen oder waten': *plumpen* 'pumpen.'

12. S. dial. *plattra* 'shoot many and weak shots': dial. *pluttra* 'talk low to oneself; answer impudently.'

13. D. *pladre* 'mix up; prate, jabber': *pludre* 'gabble, babble; moisten peat before kneading.'

Wald. *pläderen* 'plätschern': *pluderen* 'Blasen im Wasser machen (z. B. von Kühen beim Trinken); mit Geräusch auf-fliegen, sich aufblasen.'

Pr. *pladdern* 'plätschernd giessen; stark regnen; laut, viel und unnütz schwatzen': *pluddern* 'wellig und bauschig herab-fallen und dabei rauschend tönen.'

Els. *pfliittere* 'kichern, heimlich lachen': *pflattere* 'dünne Exkremeente fallen lassen': *pfuttere* 'plätschern; den Kot fallen lassen.'

14. E. dial. *plash* 'splash': dial. *plesh*, *plash* 'splash, dash through water or mud; rain heavily': dial. *plosh* 'plunge in mud or water, splash, bespatter.'

15. D. *plire* 'blink': *plør* n. 'slush.'

Pr. *pliren*, *plirren* 'die Augen zusammenziehen um genau zu

sehen; weinen' : *plarren* 'viel u. laut reden' : *plüren* 'greifen, zausen.'

16. OF. *plikken* 'leicht schlagen, stechen' : *plakken* 'schlagen, kleben.'

17. E. dial. *prim* 'close firmly or primly (the lips); be affected' : dial. *pram* 'press, overcrowd.'

18. S. dial. *primpa* 'eat or drink immoderately' : *prumpa* 'pedere.'

19. N. *prata* 'talk prattle' : *pruta* 'haggle, make difficulties.'

S. dial. *prittla* 'write small and illegibly' : *prata*, 'prate, prattle' : *pruta* 'haggle,' dial. *pruttla* 'purl, boil hard.'

D. *prate* 'prate, talk' : *prute* 'poop; haggle.'

E. *prate* : *prattle* : dial. *prittle* 'prick.'

Dutch *pret* f. 'joy, pleasure' : *praten* 'talk, prate' : *pruttelen* 'boil softly, bubble; grumble, mumble.'

Westf. *pratteln* 'trotzen, maulen' : *präteln* 'gackern, plappern' : *prötteln* 'brodeln, brummen' : *prüeteln* 'brodeln, brummen.'

20. S. *pricka* 'dot, prick' : *pracka* 'barter, foist off.'

D. *prikke* 'dot, prick' : *prakke* 'put; foist off; inflict, vex,' dial. 'wander about.'

Zaan. *prikken* 'prick, sting' : *prakken* 'mash food with the fork or spoon.'

OF. *prikken* 'stechen, stecken' : *prakken* 'quetschen, kneten, rühren.'

Westf. *priekeln* 'stechen, kitzeln, aufreizen' : *prokeln* 'stochern, wühlen, heimlich hetzen.'

21. D. dial. *prigle*, *pregle* 'knit,' dial. *pregle* 'stick, poke, tingle' : dial. *pragle* 'botch, bungle.'

22. E. *prink* 'sich kleinlich putzen' : *prank* 'display or adorn showily.'

23. S. *babbla* 'babble' : *bubbla* 'bubble.'

D. dial. *bible* 'drip, leak, flow,' dial. *bibbre* 'tremble' : *bævre* 'tremble' : *bable* 'babble' : *boble* 'bubble.'

J. *bible* 'drip, run' : *bable*, *barle* 'babble, stammer' : *boble* 'bubble, boil.'

E. dial. *bibber* 'tremble,' dial. *bibbles* 'nonsense,' dial. *bibble* 'tipple, eat, like a duck, liquid and solid at once' : *babble*

'prattle' : *bubble* 'throw up bubbles, purl,' dial. 'snivel, weep; discharge mucus from the nose.'

F. *bibberje* 'shiver, tremble' : *babbel-bek* 'garrulous' : *bobbetje* 'bubble, boil.'

ZOVL. *Bibbere* m. 'trembling' : *babbelen* 'babble, prattle' : *bobbelen* 'go swarming and bustling.'

OF. *bibbern, bebbbern* 'zittern, mit den Zähnen schnattern' : *babbeln* 'plappern, klatschen' : *bubbeln* 'schäumen, wogen.'

Thur. *bappeln* 'kindisch schwatzen' : *buppern* 'unruhig sich bewegen.'

Stieg. *paweln* 'schwatzen' : *puweln* 'leise kochen u. blasen werfen.'

Els. *bippele* 'kränkeln; grauen (vom Tage),' *bippere* 'coire' : *beppere* 'hart anklopfen,' *bepperle* 'leise klopfen' : *bappere* 'gern plaudern' : *bopple* 'rasch u. anhaltend klopfen, pochen (besonders von Empfindungen im Körper), fallen' : *bupple* 'auf dem Arm wiegen.'

Schw. *bippere* 'beben,' *bipele* 'leise klopfen,' *püppere* 'auf einem Kuhhorn blasen' : *pappere* 'gackern, plaudern' : *boppele* 'stottern,' *poppere* 'wiederholt klopfen, pochen, einen stotternden Laut von sich geben.'

24. S. dial. *baff* m. 'fool, prater' : dial. *buffa* 'strike, push.'

E. dial. *biff* 'strike' : dial. *baff* 'strike, bark gently, cough,' *baffle* 'frustrate' : dial. *buff* 'knock with any soft substance, make no impression; muffle (a bell); bark gently, burst out laughing, boast; stammer,' *buffet* 'beat, push,' *buffer* 'pusher, butt.'

ZOVL. *baffen* 'strike, beat, eat much' : *boffen* 'boast, brag.'

Wald. *bäfen* 'knallen, poltern' : *bufbaf* 'grober, polternder Mensch.'

Pr. *bifsen* : *bafsen* : *bufsen* 'schlagen, stossen, stampfen : die Stärke der Resonanz des Schalles bringt der Vokal der Stammsilbe zum Ausdruck.'

Lux. *baffen* 'gut essen' : *boffen* 'unwillig antworten, knurren, unbeholfen laufen.'

Els. *bäffe* 'keifen, zanken' : *bafe* 'viel u. rasch essen' : *buffe* 'puffen, stossen.'

Schw. *biffle* 'zänkeln, keifen': *bēfere* 'wehe rufen, seufzen,' *beffe* 'schwach bellen, klaffen': *baffe* 'ungereimtes Zeug schwatzen,' *baffle* 'plappern': *boffe* 'schmollen, aus Zorn nicht reden; schnarchen': *buffe* 'stossen, das Haar kräuseln.'

Bav. *beffen* 'bellen wie der Fuchs; keifen, zanken': *buffen* 'mit der Faust stossen, das Haar kräuseln.'

Tir. *bāf'n* 'geifern': *buffen* 'stossen, schlagen.'

25. D. dial. *bimre* in "*det er saa fuldt, at det bimrer*," of a vessel full to overflowing: *bomre* 'blunder, thunder at': *bumre*, *bumle* 'carouse.'

J. *bimre* 'move gently, stir': *bomre* 'fail, miscarry; bang at; carouse.'

E. dial. *bam* 'beat, bully, cheat,' dial. *bamble* 'shamble, walk unsteadily': dial. *bome* 'swing about, swagger': dial. *bum* 'hum, drone; knock, boom; swell up; throw away carelessly,' dial. *humble* 'rumble; splash; burgle; muffle.'

Westf. *bimmeln* 'öfter eine Stelle schütteln': *bämmel* m. 'Klöpfel der Glocke': *bommeln* 'müssig umherlaufen': *bummeln* 'baumeln': *bombam* 'eine gewisse Weise des Läutens; etwas, das hin u. her schwingt.'

Wald. *bimeln* 'mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten': *bamelen* 'hängen, schweben': *bumelen* 'baumeln, müssig umhergehen': *bimbam* 'von der Glocke': *bumbam* 'baumelndes Spielzeug.'

Pr. *bimmeln* 'die Glocke, besonders die kleine helltönende Schelle läuten': *bammeln* 'baumeln': *bommeln* 'baumeln, müssiggeben.'

Thur. *bimbeln* 'mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten': *bambeln* 'hängend sich hin und her bewegen': *bumben* 'dumpf klopfen, dröhnen.'

Stieg. *pimeln* 'mit einer kleinen Glocke läuten': *pameln* 'schwebend hängen, lässig sein': dasselbe drückt noch stärker aus *pumeln* 'nachlässig sich dem Müssiggang übergeben': *paumeln* 'im Hängen sich hin u. her bewegen.'

NHG. *bimmeln*: *bammeln*: *bummeln*: *baumeln*: *bim bam bum*.

Els. *bimple* 'bimmeln, hin u. her bewegen, werfen': *bemmere* 'hämmern, prügeln, schiessen': *bample* 'bameln; schlecht läuten; langsam etwas tun': *bumple* 'fallen,' *bummere* 'mit Geschützen donnern, prügeln.'

Bav. *pimpern* : *pempfern* : *pampern* : *pumpfern* 'drücken den durch Stossen, Klopfen, Fallen etc. verursachten Schall aus, je nachdem er heller oder dumpfer, stärker oder schwächer klingt.'

26. E. *beat* : *bat*, *batter* 'strike, beat' : *but(t)* 'push, ram with the head.'

Hess. *bizen* 'verstohlen nach etwas schauen,' *bizeln* 'jucken' : *batzeln* 'streiten, zanken' : *butzen*, *butzeln* 'verhüllen,' *butzen* *büzen* 'sich stossen.'

Bav. *patzen*, *patschen* 'schlagen' : *putzen* 'putzen, rein reiben,' *putschen* in an *einen putschen* 'in einen hineinrennen.'

27. N. *bysa* 'strew' : *bisa*, *besa* 'trifle, chatter' : *basa* 'blow gently' : *basa* 'smear on, drudge, chatter' : *bosa* 'throw roughly into a heap; rush ahead' : *busa* 'rush blindly on; throw carelessly and roughly' : *bøysa* 'storm ahead' : *bausa* 'rush ahead; exert oneself greatly; talk loudly, rapidly, and heedlessly.'

S. dial. *bisa* m. 'lightning which strikes' : dial. *basa* 'beat, run' : dial. *busa* 'push violently, run ahead blindly; blow heavily.'

D. dial. *bise* 'rock in a cradle' : *base* 'toil, tumble, make a noise' : *buse* 'blurt out,' *buse* 'pitch, toss (of a ship),' dial. 'stuff, thatch; push, knock.'

J. *bysse* 'sing over a child and rock it' : *bese* 'gad, run much on errands' : *base* 'crack, resound,' *basse* 'wallow, be dissipated' : *bosse* 'miss, fail' : *buse* 'run into, ram, fall, punch.'

E. dial. *bizz* 'buzz, fuss about with a disturbing noise' : dial. *bazz* 'throw with force, rush, dart, beat' : *buzz* 'hum,' dial. 'fuss about, throw with violence, whisper, gossip.'

Westf. *bissen* 'vom Laute der aus dem Euter strömenden Milch' : *bussen* 'in den Schlaf wiegen.'

Wald. *bisen* 'rennen (von Kühen)' : *bäscen* 'blind drauf losrennen' : *busen*, *buselen* 'wählen.'

Els. *bise* 'wie toll umherrennen, lustige Sprünge machen' : *Busel* m. 'Person, die man zum besten hält' : *bausen* 'stehlen, naschen.'

28. N. *balla* 'wrap up, bundle; botch, boggle' : *bulla* 'bubble.'

29. N. *baldra* 'bang, make noise; botch' : *buldra* 'rattle, thunder; bubble up.'

S. dial. *billra* 'tear to bits' : dial. *ballra* 'make noise, prattle.'



J. *baldre* 'beat, bang': *buldre* 'roar, scold, bluster.'

OF. *ballern* 'knallen, toben, lärmern': *bullern* 'brodeln, dumpf rollen, schelten': *det ballern un bullern*.

Westf. *ballern* 'mit lärmender Hast sprechen oder handeln': *bollern* 'poltern': *bullern* 'poltern, brausen, sausen, ungestüm arbeiten.'

Pr. *ballern* 'poltern, polternd sprechen': *bullern* 'poltern; kochend aufwallen, brodeln.'

30. E. dial. *birr* 'make a whirring noise, bustle': dial. *burr* 'speak uvular R.'

31. E. *bicker* 'wrangle over trifles,' dial. 'move quickly, ripple': dial. *bucker* 'rustle, move or work fussily.'

Els. *bicke* 'mit dem Schnabel hacken, picken': *bocke* 'stossen, fallen.'

32. WVl. *beggelen* 'schreien, kreischen': *buggelen* 'röcheln, husten'.

33. N. *banka* 'beat, strike': *bunka* 'thump or knock with a single or several distinct strokes; row standing and "backing water" with a large oar.'

E. dial. *bing* 'strike': *bang* 'beat, strike': dial. *bung* 'stop up, cram.'

34. E. *blab*, *blabber* 'prate, tell tales': dial. *blub* 'blubber, snivel,' *blubber* 'snivel, weep.'

35. Dutch *blaffen* 'bark, yelp, clamor': *bluffen* 'brag, boast, humbug.'

OF. *blaffen* 'bellen, prahlen': *bluffen* 'dumpf und laut bellen, anfahren.'

Hess. *bleffen* 'abschrecken, verblüffen': *blaffen* 'feige bellen, zänkisch reden': *bluffen* 'dumpf, halbunterdrückt bellen.'

36. Els. *plample* 'baumeln, läuten; träge arbeiten': *plumpe* 'mit dumpfem Geräusch fallen; buttern (wohl wegen des Geräusches).'

37. Hess. *blatzen* 'plaudern, plappern': *blutzen* 'hart auffallen, Tabak rauchen.'

Bav. *pletzen* 'flicken': *platzen* 'platzen': *plotzen* 'Butter ausrühren.'

38. N. *blidra* 'quiver so as to give small, changing light-

impressions': *bledra* 'trifle, loll with the tongue': *bladra* 'splash, dabble, let the mouth run, jabber, gabble.'

Tir. *plattern* 'mit etwas Flachem schlagen': *bluttern* 'im Wasser platschern, brodeln.'

39. N. *bliskra* 'blow gently': *blaskra* 'splash, dabble; blow gently': *bluskra* 'blow gently; rake, shake.'

E. *blast* 'blow up,' sb. 'strong puff': *bluster* 'make a roaring noise,' sb. 'boisterous speech or conduct.'

Bav. *bliseln* 'leise sprechen': *blasen* 'blasen, schnauben, zornig sein.'

40. N. *blarra* 'talk gurglingly or with food in one's mouth': *blurra* 'sleep lightly, doze.'

E. dial. *blirt* 'shoot aimlessly, flick, strike lightly': *blear* 'becloud, bedim': *blare* 'sound loudly': dial. *blart* 'bleat, bellow, cry, roar, scold': *blur* 'blot, dim': dial. *blurt* 'sputter, jerk out, speak hastily; burst out crying.'

Els. *blerre* 'weinen, blöken, brüllen': *blarre* 'starren, glotzen.'

41. N. *blika* 'look pale or white; glint, blink': *Blik* f. 'calm with smooth water': *blikra*, *blikta* 'glimmer, blink, show slight motion, have a light in one's eye': *bleka* 'tremble': *blaka* 'flutter, flap, make splashing movements, rattle, clamor,' *blak* m. n. 'bang, splash, uproar; twaddle,' *blakra* 'flutter, tremble; glimmer; make noise': *bloka* = *blaka*.

D. *blinke* 'gleam, twinkle, blink': *blænke* 'blaze': *blunke* 'wink, finch.'

E. *blink* 'twinkle,' dial. 'shine, gleam': *blank* adj. 'open, unmarked, empty': dial. *blunk* 'to scowl.'

Els. *blinkle* 'mit den Augen winken': *plankle* 'langsam arbeiten, nachlässig dreschen': *plunke* 'Butter stossen, coire.'

42. ZOVl. *bribbelen* 'babble, prattle': *brabbelen* 'write illegibly': *brobbelen*, *broebelen* 'bubble.'

WVl. *bribbelen* 'stammer, jabber': *brobbelen* 'bubble.'

43. D. dial. *brim*, *brim* 'shouting, roaring from a distant storm or breakers': *bramme* 'boast, make display,' dial. 'talk much, talk loudly': *brumme* 'grumble, growl, hum.'

Westf. *brammen* 'brausen': *brummen* 'brummen.'

Pr. *bramsen* 'knurren, murren, schelten' : *brummen, brommen* 'murren, tadeln; sich hüten; im Kerker sitzen.'

Stieg. *prameln* 'in den Bart brummend reden' : *prumeln* 'etwas leise brummen.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *brimmich* 'brünstig (von Schweinen)' : Moselfr. *brommen*, Siebenb. *brummeln* 'brummen.'

Tir. *brimmen* 'surren, leise rauschen' : *brummeln* 'brummen, murren.'

44. Hess. *brüzeln, britzeln, bretzeln* 'Bezeichnung des Tones, welchen bratendes Fett von sich gibt; krachen wie neue Schuhe' : *brözeln, brotzeln, brutzeln* 'im Kochen langsam aufwallen (vom Brei).'

45. N. *brisa* 'shine, flash, flare up,' *brisa* 'light a fire, shine' : *brasa* 'be in heat, run about, be unruly.'

S. *bris* m. 'breeze' : *brus* n. 'roar; murmur.'

J. *brase* 'roast; of the spattering sound of a fat roast in the pan; fall with a splash' : *bruse* 'of the roaring of wind or sea; scold; strut.'

E. dial. *bristle* 'be lively, freshen up (of a breeze); crackle in cooking or burning,' *breeze* 'wind, gale' : dial. *brustle* 'bustle about, make a great fuss; dry, parch, scorch; crackle in cooking or burning' : *bruise*.

OF. *bris, brise* 'kühler Seewind' : *brūs, brūse* 'Braus, Geräusch, die Sinne betäubendes Gewühl.'

Westf. *bräschen* 'schreien' : *brūsen* 'brausen.'

Pr. *brischen* 'sausen, rauschen' : *bräschen* 'schreiend und lärmend durcheinander reden: wiehern.'

46. D. *brøle* 'roar, bellow' : *bralle* 'rattle away, talk big.'

J. *brôle* 'roar, bellow; cry, weep' : *bralre op* 'talk loud; glitter, look gaudy.'

Dutch *brillen* 'tease, vex, disappoint' : *brallen* 'brag, boast' : *brullen* 'roar, low, bellow.'

47. N. *brigla* 'seem to shine with small tremblings and flashes' : *bragla* 'blaze; be resplendent, bright.'

48. N. *fibla* 'pick, pluck, grab' : *fubla* 'make powerless grabs after; stutter.'

S. dial. *febbila, fabblla* 'totter, stagger, tremble' : *fubbla* 'act unsteadily, clumsily; handle undecidedly.'

49. N. *fima* 'stroke caressingly, talk sweetly,' *fima* 'hasten, hurry,' *finla* 'grab with small, repeated grasps,' *fimpa* 'bustle, whisk about' : *fampa* 'dress out, deck' : *fuma* 'botch, make awkward attempts, talk clumsily,' *fumla* 'fumble, grab around,' *fumpa* 'make big, slow, heavy movements up and down, as in walking through snow, laborious articulation; move slowly at work, botch.'

S. *famla* 'grope, feel one's way' : *fumla* 'fumble.'

D. *finre* 'vibrate, quiver,' dial. *fimmer* adj. 'fidgety, hasty' : *famle* 'fumble, stammer,' dial. *fammel* 'confused, disconcerted, abashed' : *fumle* 'fumble.'

J. *finre* 'loosen with a pull, move violently,' *finle* 'grope, claw with the fingers,' *finpe* 'ride slowly; dawdle' : *famle* 'grope, falter, hesitate; stutter' : *fumpe* 'give way elastically to a push or blow.'

E. dial. *finble* 'touch lightly' : dial. *famble* 'stutter, gabble' : *fumble* 'grope clumsily.'

Westf. *fämmeln* 'manipulieren' : *fummeln* 'tappen, tasten, streicheln; pfuschen.'

Pr. *fimmeln*, *femmeln*, *fömmeln* 'hin u. her fahren, flattern' : *fummeln* 'hin u. her fahren, reiben, betasten; coire.'

Lux. *finelen* 'den männlichen Hanf ausraufen; durchbläuen' : *fummelen* 'nachlässig arbeiten.'

Thur. *fammeln* 'tastend greifen' : *fummeln* 'sich an etwas zu schaffen machen, tappen, rupfen, reiben.'

Hess. *fameln* 'unsicher nach etwas herumtasten, -irre reden' : *fummeln* 'unsicher nach etwas herumtasten ungenaue Arbeit machen.'

Els. *finmele* 'die männlichen Hanfstengel ausziehen; einem Mädchen die Ehre nehmen,' *finme* 'eine Ohrfeige geben' : *fummele* 'hin u. her schieben, reiben, putzen,' *Fummler* 'Schwindler.'

50. S. dial. *fitlla* 'be slow' : *futlla* 'fumble with the fingers, work poorly.'

Els. *fitze* 'einen mit der Gerte schlagen, dass man ihn nur mit der Spitze derselben trifft' : obsolete *fatzen* 'neckern, quälen' : *fotzle* 'am Saume zerreißen; sich aus dem Staube machen,' *Fotzle* 'Fetzen, Lappen.'

Bav. *fitscheln* 'hin u. her plaudern' : *sich fetschen* 'sich fort-

packen' : *futschen* 'mit dem Hintern auf dem Boden rutschen' : *fitschelfätscheln* 'hin u. her plaudern.'

51. E. *fiddle* 'play the violin; fidget,' dial. 'dawdle, waste time' : dial. *faddle* 'make much of; trifle; walk slowly' : dial. *fuddle* 'get drunk; stupefy with drink' : *fiddle-faddle* 'trifle, dawdle.'

Els. *abfittere* 'fortlaufen' : *futtere* 'polternd schimpfen, murren, brummen.'

52. Thur. *finzen* 'verschmitzt lachen' : *fanzen* 'Possen treiben, spielen.'

53. N. *fisa* 'fizz, pedere, blow, smoke, burn in an instant with a puff of smoke,' *fisa* 'flash with a puff; talk or chatter with a puffing sound, as in whispering' : *fesa* 'talk mysteriously, whisper' : *fjasa* 'rise up, burn with a puff (of gases = *fisa* but with a stronger, blowing sound); be in a hurry; gossip' : *fjasla* 'whisk, bustle about; fawn, smirk; gossip, prate' : *fjosa* 'talk empty or loose talk' : *fusa* 'rush, gush, stream forth violently and rushing,' *fjusa* 'of a rushing, puffing gas-escape; talk in a puffing or sputtering hurry.'

D. *fise* 'fizzle, fizz, pedere' : *fuse* 'rush, gush.'

J. *fise* 'pedere,' *fisle* 'tattle; talk falsely and insinuatingly' : *fase* 'jump, shudder, push,' *fasle* 'talk in low tones, whisper' : *fuse* 'stream forth violently (of water),' *fusle* 'walk gently, rustle; walk with dragging feet, in stockings.'

Westf. *fisseln* 'fein regnen oder schneien, fein spalten' : *fäseln* 'nicht recht voran können.'

Pr. *fiseln* 'unruhig, unstät umherlaufen,' *fisseln* 'kleine Bewegungen hin u. her machen; kitzeln' : *fasen* 'rasen, laufen.'

Thur. *fisseln* 'fein regnen' : *faseln* 'irre sein, albern sein' : *fusseln* 'eifertig u. geräuschvoll an etwas beschäftigt sein, reiben, feilen; fein regnen.'

Rappena. *faasle* 'irre reden' : *fuusle* 'rasch laufen.'

Els. *fisle* 'ungern hergeben, genau berechnen' : *fasle* 'unge-reimtes Zeug schwatzen; arretieren' : *fussele* 'betasten.'

Schw. *fisele* 'mit einem dünnen, länglichen Körper (einer Gerte, etc.) hin u. her fahren; zu sehr mit kleinlichen Sachen umgehen; fein u. undeutlich schreiben; kitzeln,' *fiserle* 'fein regnen; kleine Zierereien machen' : *fasle* 'ungereimtes Zeug

schwätzen, plaudern, straucheln, umherstreifen': *fosele* 'möglich watscheln: *fusele* 'unordentlich und unehrlich arbeiten, handeln': *fausele* 'leicht schneien.'

54. N. *fikta* 'fence, beat about one, make quick and violent movements': *fakta* 'conduct oneself, behave.'

D. dial. *fige* 'hurry, hasten': *fagle* 'be inconsistent, especially in one's talk.'

J. *fikle* 'flatter, wheedle': *fagle* 'waver, be inconsistent in one's talk.'

E. dial. *fick*, *feck* 'fidget, kick, struggle, vex, trifle with a woman,' dial. *fickle* 'puzzle, entangle; do something that others cannot do,' dial. *figgle* 'fidget about, wriggle': *fag* 'grow weary, labor,' dial. 'struggle, pursue': dial. *foggle* 'shake,' dial. *fogger* 'middleman, huckster': *fuck* 'coire.'

Westf. *fiks* adj. 'schnell, gewandt': *facken* 'sich müßig herumtreiben,' *fackeln* 'umherlaufen, zögern': *fucken* 'rasch zu Stande kommen, *fuckeln* 'rasch etwas tun,' *verfucken* 'verwirren': *fickfacker* 'unzuverlässiger Mensch.'

Thur. *ficken* 'coire': *facken* 'spielen': *fuckeln* 'betrügerisch verstecken oder durcheinanderstecken (die Karten, etc.).'

Hess. *ficken* 'mit Ruten hauen; futuere': *fackeln* 'hin u. her fahren, sich unsicher bewegen': *fuckeln* 'betrügen; nachlässig arbeiten': *Fickfacker* 'Aufschneider, Betrüger.'

Rappena. *fike* 'reiben, futuere': *fakle* 'mit etwas hin u. her fahren': *fukere* 'schachern.'

Els. *ficke* 'reiben, jucken, coire; mit einer Peitsche kurz und energisch treffen': *fackle* 'ein Licht unvorsichtig hin u. her bewegen; in hellen Flammen brennen; Lügen aufschneiden': *fuckere* 'Tauschhandel treiben (besonders von Kindern).'

Schw. *ficken* 'Kleinigkeiten entwenden,' *figge* 'reiben, unruhig sein, schlecht fiedeln,' *fieggen* 'reiben, im Finstern tappen, schlecht geigen': *fecken* 'sich anstrengen': *föcke* 'stehlen, entwenden': *facken* 'unnützer Weise hin u. her laufen,' *fäggen* 'leise herumtappen; wiederholt über einen Gegenstand hin oder daran herumstreichen (der lange Vokal malt die langsam an einer Fläche gleitende Bewegung)': *Focke* 'Flock, Büschel': *fuckeren* 'geringe Diebsgriffe versuchen.'

55. E. *flip* 'strike lightly, fillip': *flap* 'strike with a sudden blow with any soft, light article; fall suddenly, close or shut with violence': *flop* 'flap, move clumsily and heavily, fall with a sudden bump, knock, slap.'

F. *flippe* 'beat with the flat hand': *flappe* 'clap, shut, knock, slam.'

OF. *flippen, flipsen* 'springen, fliegen; schnellen': *flappen* 'schlagen, klatschen, klappen': *fluppen, flupsen* 'schnellen, springen, fliegen.'

55a. J. *flibbe* 'whine, whimper': *flabe* 'roar, call loudly, talk big.'

Els. *flappe* 'anführen, betrügen': *fluppe* 'beohrfeigen, vergewaltigen.'

56. D. *flimre* 'glimmer,' dial. *flimske* 'trifle, toy': *flamme* 'flame,' dial. *flamske* 'kick the hoofs hither and thither.'

Westf. *flimern* 'schimmern': *flammen* 'flammen.'

Wald. *flimeren* 'flimmern, glitzern': *flame* 'Flamme.'

NHD. *flimmern*: *flammen*.

57. Moselfr. *flatschen*, Siebenb. *flatschn* 'mit der Hand schlagen, dass es platscht': Moselfr. Siebenb. *flutschen* 'spülen, waschen.'

Hess. *flitschen, flitzen* 'mit Pfeilen schießen': *flutschen* 'schluchzend weinen.'

57a. Schw. *flittere* 'flüstern': *flatlere* 'sehr heftig regnen; prügeln; flattern': *fluttere* 'flattern.'

57b. Bav. *flodern* 'flattern, mit den Flügeln schlagen': *floodern* 'flattern; flackern, lodern'; *fludern, pfludern* 'mühsam fliegen.'

58. Dan. dial. *fline* 'smile, laugh, grin sillily': *flane* 'gasp, stare, have the wheels awry.'

Bav. *flindern* 'flattern, flimmern, funkeln': *flandern, fländern* 'hin u. her bewegen, wehen, ziehen.'

59. Schw. *flirzen* 'weinen, halblaut mit erstickter Stimme; schluchzen': *flarze* 'in Wasser, Kot, Schlamm herumtreten, kleben, schmieren': *flurzen* 'mit erstickter Stimme weinen.'

60. N. *flika* 'cut slices; wag tail or body; fawn, pet, caress; smirk,' *flikra* 'flatter; tremble; laugh suppressedly,' *flikja* 'gape,



come open' : *fleka* 'become striped or spotted (of the earth after snow)' : *flaka* 'go with open clothes, go carelessly dressed; gape open and swing out,' *flakra* 'blow, waft back and forth.'

S. dial. *flika* 'undress hastily' : dial. *flaka* 'stretch out; go with neck or chest exposed.'

E. *flicker* 'flutter,' dial. 'flirt, giggle, titter, blush' : dial. *flacker* 'flutter, palpitate, throb.'

Westf. *flickern* 'flimmern, schimmern' : *flackern* 'flackern.'

61. S. dial. *flinka* 'hurry' : *flanka* 'be unsteady, travel about.'

62. E. *fling* 'throw with violence,' dial. 'kick' : dial. *flang* 'kick, strike out, slap.'

Bav. *flinken, flinkern* 'blinken, glänzen, schimmern' : *flanken, flänkeln* 'die Flügel, die Arme schwingen.'

63. N. *frysa* 'spurt out with a rushing sound' : *fræsa* 'spout, spurt with a hiss' : *frasa* 'gush up, bubble, crackle' : *frusa* 'spout, squirt, foam, boil over; grow up in lumps or bulbs.'

S. *frasa* 'rustle, fizzle' : *frusa* 'gush, spurt.'

E. dial. *frizzle* 'fry, make a hissing, sputtering sound in frying; curl; cajole' : dial. *frazzle* 'unravel, fray, untangle' : dial. *fruzz* 'rub the hair the wrong way; entangle; waste, throw away.'

64. E. dial. *frig* 'wriggle, struggle, kick with the feet' : dial. *frag* 'cram, fill to overflowing' : dial. *frog* 'crawl on all fours.'

66. E. dial. *miff* 'offend; whimper' : dial. *maffle* 'stammer, hesitate, speak indistinctly' : dial. *muff* 'make the least sound; miss; oppress with the heat,' *muffle* 'deaden sound, wrap up.'

Pr. *mifen* 'winseln, verhalten heulen,' *miffen* 'den Wind lassen' : *muffeln, müffeln* 'mühsam u. langsam kauen, besonders mit den Vorderzähnen.'

Schw. *mäffelen* 'still grollend widerreden; keifen' : *mafflen* 'durcheinander plaudern' : *mofflen* 'langsam kauen' : *mufflen* 'schmollen, mürrisch widerreden.'

67. N. *mimra* 'make soundless involuntary motions of the lips' : *mumra* 'snuffle, mumble, murmur.'

E. dial. *mimp* 'speak daintily and affectedly' : dial. *mump* 'mumble, speak indistinctly; munch.'

68. E. *meddle* 'tamper with, interfere' : *muddle* 'botch, bungle.'

69. N. *mýsla* 'walk silently and quietly alone': *masla* 'rake clumsily, hack': *musla* 'work slowly; dabble; walk silently and alone.'

69a. N. *miska* 'coax, wheedle': *maska* 'rush ahead, make noise, work zealously, tumble about': *muska* 'hunt, rush; work hard; drizzle.'

E. *mash* 'smash': dial. *mush* 'crush, crumble; waste slowly.'

70. D. dial. *milde* 'smile': dial. *mule* 'pout.'

71. Pr. *mirksen* 'in Absätzen aufseufzen u. wimmern': *murksen* 'murrende Töne hören lassen; heimlich brummen.'

71a. Bav. *merren* 'verwirren, übermässig anstrengen': *murren* 'murren.'

72. S. dial. *makka* 'work slowly, botch': dial. *mukka* 'beat.'

F. *mikke* 'aim at; make the slightest sound': *mokke* 'sulk, be sullen, mope.'

Dutch *mikken* 'aim at,' *niet durven kikken of mikken* 'nicht mucksen dürfen': *mokkelen* 'hug, embrace, kiss; bind together': *mikmak* m. 'failing; slight trick.'

Zaan. *mikken* 'make the slightest sound,' *hij mikt et zoo nauw niet* 'he doesn't take it so exactly': *mokken* 'pout, grumble.'

WVl. *mikken* 'hesitate, make the slightest sound,' *niet mikken* 'nicht mucksen': *mokkelen* 'eat with guests': *mijken* 'feast; go out of the way for': *mikmak* 'secret doings.'

OF. *mikken* 'scharf nach etwas sehen oder spähen': *ofmukken* 'mucken, einen Ton von sich geben; murren, knurren, brummen; heimlich beseitigen.'

Westf. *maken* 'von Schrei des Hasen': *mūke, mōke, murke* f. 'Versteck für Obst im Stroh.'

Wald. *mīksen* 'weinen,' *mīksech* 'weinerlich': *nīt muksen* 'keinen Laut von sich geben,' *muksech* 'launisch.'

Pr. *mickern, miggern, mucken* 'kränkeln, verkümmern; wimmern, stöhnen': *mucken* 'in halblauten, vereinzelt Tönen üble Laune zeigen; trotzig, nickisch sich gebärden,' *mucksen* 'fast = mucken doch nähern sich die Töne mehr dem Schluchzen.'

Thur. *mickern* 'kitzeln; meckern': *mockeln* 'auf allen Vieren kriechen.'

Stieg. *mickern* 'klein und unleserlich schreiben, meckern': *muckern* 'halblaute Töne von sich geben; mucksen.'

73. E. dial. *muggle* 'worry, tease, tire' : dial. *muggle* 'muddle along, live in a shipshod way.'

F. *miggelje* 'drizzle, rain gently' : *moggel* f. 'fat woman or child.'

Groningen *miggeln* 'drizzle' : *maggeln* 'scrawl, write poorly' : *muggery* adj. 'full of flies (of a room).'

Dutch *maggelen* 'write badly' : *moggel* m. f. 'fat, clumsy child; clumsy woman.'

Zaan. *miegelen* 'drizzle' : *muggen* 'rest, nap.'

Schw. *meggeln* 'meckern, kreischen' : *maggeln* 'heimlich klagen' : *mugglen* 'einen dumpfen Laut von sich geben.'

73a. Schw. *mängele* 'so reden, dass man den wahren Sachverhalt nicht lernen soll' : *munggel* adj. 'düster.'

74. E. *tip* 'extreme point' : *tap* 'gentle blow or touch' : *top* 'upper part, cover' : *tup* 'ram.'

Dutch *tippen* 'take off the tip, cut the hair' : *tappen* 'draw, tap, drain' : *toppen* 'take off the top (of trees); agree.'

OF. *tippen* 'leicht u. leise stossen,' *tipeln* 'mit den Spitzen berühren' : *tepen*, *teppen*, *täpen*, *tapen* 'zupfen' : *tappen* 'tappen, tasten' : *toppen* 'die Spitze abschneiden.'

Westf. *tipp* m. 'Spitze, Wipfel' : *töppen* 'den Wipfel ausbauen' : *tappen* 'zapfen.'

Wald. *tipen* 'mit der Fingerspitze berühren; mit kleinen Flecken versehen' : *tapen* 'umhertappen.'

Pr. *tippeln* 'punktieren,' *tippen* 'tupfen, picken' : *tappeln* 'häufig gehen,' *Tapp-ön-de-Grött* 'Tapp-in-die Grütz, Einfaltspinsel.'

Lux. *tippen* 'berühren; umstürzen' : *tappen* 'schlagen; unsicher den Weg suchen' : *töpen* 'im Dunkeln herumtappen; schlagen' : *tuppen* 'klopfen, hauen, schlagen.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *tapschen* 'mit den Füßen stampfen' : *tuppen* 'mit dem Finger leicht berühren.'

Thur. *tippen* 'anrühren' : *tappen* 'unsicher der Weg suchen; hart oder unsicher auftreten; mit den Händen fassen' : *tappeln* 'trippeln; mit den Händen tasten.'

Stieg. *verzippeln* 'vor Schmerz oder Ungeduld vergehen wollen' : *zappeln* 'zappeln' : *zuppeln* 'zupfen.'

Els. *zipper* 'prickeln' : *zuppere*, *zuppele* 'schlecht, oberflächlich nähern.'

74a. Pr. *tibbern* 'anreizen, ermuntern' : *tobbern*, *tubbern* 'anregen zu reden; aufstörend stossen; zurückhalten, aufhalten.'

75. N. *titra* 'tremble, shudder; titter, give trembling sounds; trickle forth; spin finely' : *tatla* 'munch; prattle hackingly and monotonously; gossip' : *tutra* 'shake; give forth monotonous, trembling sounds; whine in a low tone,' *tutla* 'cram, squeeze, press in one's hands.'

E. *titter* 'snicker, laugh sharply and suppressedly,' dial. 'shake; quiver; stammer; work weakly and triflingly' : *tattle* 'prate, talk,' *tatter* 'tear, rend,' dial. 'chatter, chide; hurry' : *totter* 'sway, shake' : dial. *tutter* 'complain, find fault; stammer.'

75a. Moselfr. Siebenb. *tatschelen* 'zärtlich befühlen' : *tutsche-len*, *tuschelen* 'flüstern, leise reden.'

76. Lux. *taddelen* 'schwätzen' : *tuddelen* 'unverständlich schwätzen.'

Els. *zittere* 'zittern' : *zottere* 'verstreuen, verschütten,' *zottle* 'langsam geben, schlendern, watscheln.'

77. N. *tindra* 'sparkle, shine; of flashing pains' : *tandra* 'scold, insult, yap at, set fire to; sputter, crackle.'

78. N. *tira* 'stare; sparkle, shine, beam; run in a thin but continuous stream' : *tara* 'make helpless attempts, botch' : *tora* 'burn weakly' : *tura* 'crash, make a continuous, uniform noise.'

79. N. *tikka* 'touch lightly,' *tikla* 'sound faint and thin' : *tokka* 'push, move, shove,' *tokla* 'work about without results, dabble, walk about senselessly' : *tukka* 'shake, dislocate, move,' *tukla* 'handle much and clumsily; bungle, botch.'

E. dial. *tick* 'touch lightly, caress,' *tickle* 'kitzeln,' dial. 'stir gently, rouse; beat, whip; perplex' : dial. *tack* 'slap, beat; clap,' *tackle* 'attack, punish, accost' : dial. *tuck* 'eat greedily, touch, pull, jerk; blow in gusts; throb,' *tuck in* 'push in clothes or bedding.'

Dutch *tikken* 'pat, touch; tick (of a watch)' : *takken* 'get branches; lop off' : *tokkelen* 'touch, play an instrument' : *tik-tak* 'backgammon.'

WVl. *tikken* 'clink glasses; touch on a subject' : *takken* 'touch,

tag (in games) : *tokken* 'stossen, klopfen' : *tikke-takken* 'quälen, plagen' : *tiktak* 'sound of a watch, of the heart.'

OF. *tikken* 'ticken, picken, leise anstossen' : *takken* 'mit Zacken versehen,' *taken* 'fassen, greifen' : *tokken* 'ziehen, locken' : *tuken, tūken* 'ziehen, locken; zerren, reißen,' *tukken* 'ziehen, zucken; zappeln; stossen, pochen' : *tik-tak-tuk* 'ein Spiel' : *tik-tak* 'Geräusch der Uhr.'

Westf. *ticken* 'von der Uhr' : *täckeln* 'trippelnd gehen' : *sich tacken* 'zanken' : *tocken* 'locken.'

Wald. *tiken* 'von der Uhr; leise berühren' : *token* 'zupfen' : *tuken* 'zucken, klopfen (vom Pulse)' : *tiktak* 'Geräusch der Uhr.'

Lux. *tik* m. 'Gewohnheits-muskelzucken' : *ticker* m. 'Stösser' : *teken* 'anstossen, mit Trinkgläsern, Ostereiern, etc.' : *tucken* 'an einen Gegenstand anstossen; durch Stossen zerkleinern.'

80. E. dial. *ting* 'sting; ring, jingle,' *tingle* 'prickle, burn' : dial. *tang* 'sting; toll a bell, sound loudly, clearly and with measured sound, especially of a harsh bell; make noise,' *tangle* 'enmesh.'

81. N. *trippa* 'trot, run lightly' : *trappa* 'tramp, stamp the feet.'

Dutch *trippen* 'skip, trip, mince' : *trappen* 'tread, trample, kick.'

OF. *trippeln* 'trippeln, wiederholt auftreten, mit kleinen raschen Schritten gehen' : *trappeln* 'treten u. stampfen' : *trip-trap* 'zur Bezeichnung des wechselnden Niederschlagens der Füße.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *tripsen* 'tröpfeln' : *trappen* 'den Fuss stampfend aufsetzen.'

Thür. *trippeln* 'leise u. schnell auftreten' : *trappen* 'laut, hart u. schwer auftreten.'

Stieg. *trippeln* 'leise u. schnell auftreten; tröpfeln' : *trappeln* 'wiederholt u. schnell mit den Füßen auftreten.'

Els. *tripple* 'stampfen' : *trepple* 'stark auftreten, poltern' : *trappe* 'traben, eilig laufen, hart, fest u. dröhnend auftreten, besonders in Holzschuhen' : *tropple* 'mit Geräusch in Menge herunterfallen (vom reifen Obst).'

82. N. *tramla* 'drag laboriously and noisily after one; drag the feet, walk stumbingly' : *trumla* 'walk heavily and stumbingly; stumble.'

S. *trampa* 'tramp, trample' : *trumpna* 'grow sullen.'

E. dial. *trimple* 'limp, tread gingerly' : *trample* 'stamp.'

Pr. *trimpeln*, *trömpeln* 'trippelnd gehen' : *trampeln* 'trampeln, mit den Füßen stampfen.'

83. Siebenb. *tratschn* 'in Wasser oder Kot herumpatschen; klatschen' : *Trutschkn* 'molliges, dralles Mädchen.'

Thur. *tritschen* 'klatschend niederfallen (vom Regen)' : *tratschen* 'derb, schwerfällig auftreten; schwatzen.'

84. E. dial. *trill* 'trundle a hoop; twirl' : dial. *tröll* 'turn, sprain,' dial. *tröll*, *troll* 'scold; tire of walking.'

OF. *trillen*, *trillern* 'zittern, beben, klirren' : *trullen*, *trüllen* 'rollen, wälzen.'

85. E. *trickle* 'drip, seep,' dial. 'bowl, roll' : *truckle* 'yield meanly,' dial. 'trundle, roll, move on.'

86. OF. *twikken* 'zwicken; reißen' : *twakken* 'zwacken, klemmen.'

Pr. *zwicken* 'kneipen, einklemmen; mit kleingeschlagenen Steinen ausfüllen' : *zwacken* 'im Preise drücken.'

NhD. *zwicken* : *zwacken*.

Els. *zwickel* 'mit dem Peitschenende schlagen; stehlen; kneifen; blinzeln' : *zwacke* 'wegnehmen, besonders im Spasse; armlich leben; schlagen.'

87. E. *twinge* 'twist suddenly, dart (of a pain)' : *twang* 'snap, resound.'

88. N. *dibba* 'nod repeatedly, mince one's steps with swaying movements of the body, walk unsurely with short steps' : *dabba* 'give repeated slaps or blows; walk with short quick steps but on the whole foot, neither mincingly nor stampingly' : *dabla* 'splash gently, dabble' : *dubba* 'bend, stoop, nod,' *dubla* 'destroy, botch.'

S. dial. *dibb* 'touch lightly' : dial. *dabba* 'dirty, bedabble,' *dabba sej* 'be unhandy, be awkward.'

E. dial. *dib*, *dibble* 'pierce small holes in the ground' : *dab* 'jab with something soft or wet,' dial. 'give a slight blow, throw down carelessly,' *dabble* 'play in the water, perform triflingly,' dial. *dabber* 'jar, wrangle, confound by talking rapidly' : dial. *dob* 'put down clumsily, throw down; fall upon roughly; strike,' dial.

*dobble* 'daub, mess, dig ineffectually,' *daub* 'smear' : *dub* 'cut off trimmings; pelt; pull down; walk heavily; blunt.'

WVL. *dibberen* 'hesitate, delay; tremble' : *debbelen* 'betasten' : *dobberen*, *dubberen* 'hesitate, delay.'

OF. *dibbern* '(jüdisch-deutsch) eifrig schwatzen' : *dubbern* 'wiederholt schlagen, klopfen; ein starkes und dumpfes Geräusch machen.'

Westf. *dabbeln*, *däbbeln* 'schwatzen' : *duppen* 'klopfen, gelinde auf etwas Hartes stossen.'

Lux. *dabberen*, *däbberen* 'eilig trippeln' : *dubberen* 'poltern.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *debeln* 'schwatzen' : *dubbern* 'dumpf tönen.'

Hess. *dibbern* 'ahnen; verstohlen einen Treff geben' : *daberigh* adj. 'faulicht-weich,' *bedappeln* 'begreifen, verstehen (meist scherzhaft)' : *duppern* 'wankend und stolpernd gehen.'

Els. *tippelle* 'leise trippeln, schleichen,' *tippere* 'schnell laufen, kleine kurze Schritte machen' : *tappe* 'tappen, tastend u. unsicher geben; ertappen, fangen' : *tupple* 'einfältig tun; langsam gehen.'

Bav. *tappeln* 'von wiederholten kleinen Bewegungen der Hände u. Füße gesagt' : *toppen* 'klopfen, schlagen, sich schnell bewegen (vom Herz, von einem Geschwür).'

89. E. dial. *daffy* 'crazy, mad' : dial. *duffer* 'bungler, idiot.'

OF. *dafen* 'klopfen, schelten, dröhnen,' *daferen*, *däfern* 'klopfen, hämmern, dröhnen' : *dofen* 'taub machen, dämpfen, löschen' : *dufen* 'stossen, drücken, pressen.'

90. N. *demla* 'splash; drink much; press down by weight (a vessel in the water, or gases, steam); press, bend' : *damla* 'splash; hold a boat still by slight use of the oars' : *dumla* 'become heavy and still (of the air), grow moist, dark, and sultry.'

D. dial. *dimle* 'whisper, mutter' : *dumle* 'roar, rattle,' *dumse* 'slumber, take a nap.'

Moselfr. Siebenb. *dāmern* 'mit den Füßen herumtreten, stampfen' : *dummeln* 'schlummern.'

91. N. *dampa* 'walk heavily, slowly, lazily; be slow; soil' : *dumpa* 'go heavily, unevenly, joltingly; be bundled up (the word involves something indecent, as also in the D. and S. dialects).'

S. *dimpa* 'fall quickly, helplessly' : dial. *dompa* 'fall down



heavily, knock, walk heavily with a dull sound' : *dumpa* 'dip,' dial. 'thunder; dance clumsily and indecently.'

92. N. *daska* 'walk heavily and slouchingly; walk slowly and with dignity' : *duska* 'fall down, fall suddenly, give a sound as of a heavy fall; box the ears.'

D. dial. *daske* 'talk, gossip' : dial. *duske* 'be slow, be lazy; bend down the head.'

J. *daske* 'beat, swing back and forth; walk lazily and drift; gossip, chatter' : *duske* 'beat, thrash.'

Hess. *datscheln* 'plump angreifen, plump und oft mit den Händen betasten' : *dutscheln* 'heimlich etwas tun, etwas verbergen.'

Stieg. *titschen* 'mit Finger, Stock u. dergleichen auf etwas schlagen' : *tâtschen* 'mit der flachen Hand auf etwas schlagen; mit dem Fusse treten.'

Els. *datsche* 'schlagen, dass es knallt, mit der Peitsche knallen; glatt oder flach schlagen; lieblosen; durcheinander reden' : *dutsche* 'schlagen, prügeln.'

Tir. *dâtschen* 'mit der Hand auf weiche Dinge schlagen' : *dutschen* 'schlummern.'

93. N. *didra* 'tremble, quiver; weaker vibrations and lesser swings than in *dadra*' : *dadra* 'shake, quiver' : *dudra* 'shake hard and repeatedly with a dull sound at every greater movement.'

E. dial. *diddle* 'swindle; busy oneself with trifles; waste time' : dial. *daddle* 'walk or work slowly, saunter; trifle; fondle; trouble, bother, annoy' : *dawdle* 'linger, hesitate, waste time' : dial. *dodde* 'walk feebly or slowly, saunter, idle.'

Lux. *dadder* m. 'Angst, Zittern; Falte;' *dädern* 'viel u. laut sprechen' : *duddern* 'murren, knistern (vom Feuer).'

Hess. *daddeln* 'unsicher, schwankend sich bewegen,' *daddern* 'schnattern, schwatzen; stottern' : *doddern* 'aus Unruhe ängstlich sein.'

Stieg. *tättern* 'schnell sprechen, schwatzen' : *tuttern* 'erschreckt, verlegen sein; zögern; in der Verlegenheit stammeln.'

Els. *dattere* 'Mist fest schlagen; eintönig und rasch schwatzen' : *dottle* 'langsam gehen' : *duttere* 'frieren, vor Kalte zittern; bange sein (unpers.).'

Bav. *tattern* 'zittern vor Frost, vor Furcht; erschrecken, verblüfft werden; schwatzen' : *lutern* 'stottern.'

94. E. dial. *dindle*, 'shake, vibrate; stagger; tingle' : *dandle* 'play with; fondle; toss' : dial. *dunder* 'thunder, rumble, give a thundering blow.'

95. Thur. *danschen* 'mit den Händen rühren, kneten; schwatzen' : *dunschen* 'wischen.'

96. N. *dīsa* 'stare wonderingly,' *dissa* 'tremble, rock (especially of masses, as a morass underfoot), shake,' *disa* 'wander about, loiter, idle,' *dysa* 'go on a large scale, be generous; make noise at play,' *dyssa* 'cause to tremble, or push with a single shake or push' : *dassa* 'run about without accomplishing anything; do small work; sully, soil' : *dōsa*, *dosa* 'pause; stack up; toss into a heap; stir up; drizzle,' *dossa* 'put a thing into disorder so as to roll oneself in it (of hay, beds, etc.),' *daassa* 'bustle about without effect, do odd services about the house' : *dusa* 'wait, sit still sleepily; quiet down; fall, stagger; ponder over,' *dussa* 'be busy round the house' : *deisa* 'topple, fall, tumble; bungle, go ahead carelessly; squander, strike heavy blows' : *dōysa* 'heap up, roll up; press down by rolling on; smoulder.'

S. dial. *dasa* 'lie and stretch, lie idle; fall; live loosely; wheedle' : dial. *dusa* 'sleep gently, slumber; sleep unquietly; rest, lie down.'

E. *dizzy* 'schwindlig, taumlig' : *daze* 'betäuben' : *dazzle* 'daze with strong light' : *doze* 'sleep lightly,' dial. *dozzle* 'confuse, stupefy.'

96a. N. *desta* 'revive, raise the spirits, restore' : *dasta* 'walk slowly; follow after; rustle' : *dusta* 'scatter, strew out; scent, hunt, drive; tumble, roll; make a noise, be sufficient.'

97. N. *dila* 'swing slowly back and forth, go back and forth between small pieces of work; bustle, run about, dabble in,' *dilla* 'dangle, hang and swing; tremble, shake, run after,' *dilka* 'run, run mincingly, trot, bustle about, bungle' : *dōla* 'act foolishly, work planlessly, loiter, linger' : *dēla* 'blow gently, blow a breeze; drivel, slobber,' *dēlka* 'rummage, dabble in, stir up' : *dala* 'sink down, come down; pass over (of storm clouds),' *dalla* 'run, trot, swing back and forth gently, dangle, walk loiteringly,

slouch a bit, bustle about,' *dalka* 'dangle, hang from, run after, botch, bungle; disorder, stir up, crumple; spot with moist dirt; give a light blow, walk slouchingly': *dola* 'burn weakly; calm down (of wind),' *dolka* 'work at unnecessarily': *dula* 'walk lazily and in an imbecile manner, straggle,' *dulla* 'run, trot, bustle; finger, crumple; meander, slouch, come straggling after,' *dulka* 'puff, punch, push.'

Els. *talke* 'in Schlamm oder Gemüse herumrühren': *dolke* 'unsauber schreiben, klecksen, unrein fließen, fettig sein.'

98. N. *dirra* 'shake, tremble, quiver,' *dirla* = *darla*; also: 'shake backward and forward in small jerks, hang and dangle, stand trembling': *derla* 'move quickly and rockingly backward and forward': *darra* 'tremble violently, swing with repeated small bobs up and down, of greater oscillations than *dirra*,' *darla* 'rock, stand loosely, swing to and fro, walk with much swinging and slouching': *durra* 'whirr hummingly away; lull,' *durla* 'roll up; work without energy or progress, botch.'

99. N. *dika* 'run, flutter, waver between several small occupations, rush about flurriedly': *daka* 'walk slowly and swingingly, walk lazily and in slipshod fashion': *daakaa* 'bustle,' *daakka* 'soil.'

J. *dikle* 'tickle': *dakle* 'thrash, beat.'

100. J. *dinke* 'hit with small blows so as to evoke a clinking sound': *danke* 'drive, impel; gambol, caper; run on thin ice so that it trembles and cracks': *dunke* 'swell up.'

101. N. *dingla* 'dangle, swing to and fro, loiter between several pieces of work': *dangla* 'strike with weak, unsure blows; work clumsily, botch; be careless': *dungla* 'stream on (of clouds or water).'

E. dial. *dingle* 'dangle; vibrate, tremble, tingle, thrill, tinkle, strike so as to produce a sound': *dangle* 'hang swayingly and bobbingly': dial. *dungle* 'pelt.'

102. E. *drip* 'fall in drops': *drop* 'fall, let fall': *droop* 'hang over, bend weakly over.'

102a. N. *drivla* 'rain gently; loiter about, dabble': *dravla* 'make small uncertain movements back and forth, splash; dabble with work.'

E. *dribble*, *drivel* 'slaver, let fall in small drops, fall in small drops': dial. *drabble* 'trail in the mud, besmear.'

102b. N. *dribba* 'hit against': *drabba* 'hit against, hit heavily; strike (of wind); drag, toil; walk laboriously; impede, hinder by friction': *drubba* 'walk stoopedly, become infirm.'

E. dial. *drib* 'beat, scold, punish': *drab* dial. 'spot, stain, splash with dirt': dial. *drub* 'beat the ground, stamp, trudge.'

103. N. *drisla*, *drysla* 'drop, splash, sprinkle': *drasla* 'drag, pull': *drusla* 'rain in small drops; walk slowly.'

104. J. *drilre* 'flow slowly; let run': *dralre* 'be slow in one's work, proceed unhandily.'

OF. *drillen* 'drillen, drehend hin u. her bewegen, Löcher in Metall bohren; quälen, plagen': *drallen* 'drehen, rollen.'

Wald. *dralen* 'ein Gespräch führen': *drälen* 'langsam und langweilig schwatzen.'

Pr. *drillen* 'kreisend drehen, drehkeln; exerzieren; quälen, necken': *drellen*, *drallen* 'drehen, wenden, sich unmanierlich aufführen': *drullen* 'drehen; die Räder des Wagens oder des Spinnrockens in Bewegung setzen,' *gedrull* n. 'das langsame Fahren, das Spinnen.'

105. Bav. *trackeln*, *trackeln* 'herumziehen, nicht fertig werden': *trucken* 'ziehen, rücken; im Reden anstossen, mit Mühe seine Gedanken aussprechen; allzu bedächtig verfahren; karg sein.'

106. Wald. *dringen* (st. *i-u-u*) 'dringen': *drengen* 'drücken, schieben.'

NHD. *dringen*: *drängen*.

107. N. *nyfsa* 'puff, hit': *nefsa* 'scold, sneer at, threaten, anger, irritate; snap about one': *nafsa* 'snap at, gnaw, chew, eat with a smacking noise': *nufsa* 'give a light push or blow.'

S. dial. *nippa* 'nip at, nibble at': *nappa* 'seize quickly, grasp, pluck.'

D. *nippe* 'twitch, tweak': *nappe* 'snatch, nab, filch': *noppe* 'friz, fray': *nuppe* 'pluck.'

E. *nip* 'pinch, cut off the edge or end,' dial. 'taste sharp, eat daintily, move quickly or nimbly, slip away,' dial. *gnip* 'taunt; complain constantly': dial. *nep* 'kiss,' dial. *knepe* 'bite, graze, crop; pick flowers': *nap* 'catch, lay hold of, seize, steal, tap,

hammer sharply,' dial. *knap* 'hammer sharply or lightly, tick, snap, split; speak affectedly,' dial. *gnap* 'gnaw, bite, nibble at': dial. *nop* 'pick cloth, crop, snuff a candle,' dial. *knop* 'bud, shoot, pick gooseberries': dial. *nipe*, *knipe*, *gnipe* 'crop or nip off in short lengths.'

Groningen. *nippen* 'bother, vex by means of pushing, pinching, etc.': *noppen* 'gooseskin.'

Dutch *nippen* 'sip, lap; scuffle,' *nippelen* 'handle, paw obscenely': *noppen* 'nop, pick': *nippen* 'pinch, nip, teak, twinge.'

Zaan. *nippen* 'pinch, come to a pinch': *noppen* 'bite; win, catch.'

Wvl. *nippen* 'fall suddenly, jump, strike': *noppen*, *nuppen* n. 'knot in the flax or cloth.'

OF. *nīpen*, *nēpen* 'kneifen, klemmen, zwacken,' *nippen* 'nippen, in kleinen Zügen trinken': *noppe*, *nop* 'Zotte, Wollflocke, Knötchen,' *noppen* 'die Noppen entfernen': *nuppen* 'knuffen, stossen, schlagen.'

Westf. *nappen* 'vom Gewehrfeuer': *sik noppen* 'sich stossen, sich schlagen.'

Bav. *nifeln* 'reiben, wetzen; durch die Nase reden, schnaufen': *naffezen* 'schlummern,' *sich vernaffen* 'sich mit etwas beschäftigen, dass man alles andere vergisst': *neifeln* 'dünn regnen.'

107a. N. *nibba* 'meet with points or edges; reach exactly as far as is needed': *nebba* 'pluck, bustle; ornament, correct': *nabba* 'eat up rapidly; geld (smaller animals)': *nubba* 'nail an iron nail (*nubb*) to; make dull, round off.'

D. dial. *nibbre*, *nebbre* 'nibble, peck, pick': *nabre* 'pluck, pull off, gnaw off': *nubbes* 'rub noses, snap at one another (of horses).'

E. dial. *nib* 'nibble, graze, nip, nibble' 'gnaw a little': dial. *nab*, *knab* 'take, catch, seize, steal; peck at, strike, punish,' dial. *nabble* 'gnaw, nibble—a stronger word than *nibble*': dial. *nob*, *knob* 'strike, especially the head; form buds,' dial. *nobble*, *knobble* = *nob*, *knob*, also: 'steal, cheat; hobble about': dial. *nub*, *knub* 'nudge, jog, shake, beckon; thump, pummel.'

OF. *nibbe*, *nib* 'Schnabel, Mund': *nubbe*, *nub* 'Knuff, Stoss, Schlag.'

Westf. *nibbeln*, *nippeln* 'das Äusserste abbeissen (von Ziegen);

Kleinigkeiten entwenden': *näbbeln* 'nagen, Kleinigkeiten entwenden': *nubbeln* 'knupfern.'

Els. *nippere* 'zu viel trinken': *nuppele* 'verknoten,' *nuppe* 'trotzen; mit einer Zange die Kletten aus dem Tuch entfernen.'

Schw. *näppere* 'an etwas herumstochern, erfolglos mit mehr oder weniger Geräusch an etwas arbeiten': *noppere* 'an etwas zupfen, rupfen; sich mit unbedeutender Arbeit zu schaffen machen': *nuppere* 'stochern (besonders die Zähne).'

Bav. *nappen*, *noppen*, *noppeln* 'kurze, wiederholte Bewegungen auf und nieder machen, hüpfen,' *noppen* 'stossen, mit der Faust stossen': *nuppeln* 'die Lippen bewegen, wie beim Saugen.'

108. E. dial. *nitter* 'grumble constantly; titter, giggle involuntarily and with an effort at suppression; grin like a dog, make grimaces': dial. *natter* 'work continuously with slight noise; clatter; work a person hard, drive; be busy in a trifling manner,' dial. *gnatter* 'gnaw, bite at anything hard, nibble; grumble, fret,' dial. *nattle* 'nibble, chew with difficulty; be busy at trifles': dial. *nutter* 'whinny softly, as mare and colt to one another,' dial. *knutter* 'neigh.'

109. N. *nasla* 'eat slowly with a nasal sound, eat like a cat; chew quietly; pilfer,' *naska* 'eat, chew, smack; snap, pilfer; put in order in a hurry; eat often and little at a time': *nusla* 'seek food; dabble, bustle, work on a small scale; eat with a sound = *nasla*, but an even more dampened sound,' *nuska* 'look for something (of animals); walk softly about by oneself; eat very slowly; steal on a small scale.'

Bav. *niseln* 'sachte, dünn regnen; langsam mit den Zähnen nagen': *nuseln* 'durch die Nase oder sonst unverständlich reden; herumsuchen; affektiert langsam und wählerisch essen.'

110. N. *nalttra* 'hew, beat unsurely, hack': *nulltra* 'knock pressingly with the fist.'

Els. *nille*, *nelle* 'plagen, quälen, foppen, betrügen': *nolle* 'unbeholfen, schleppend gehen': *nulle* 'saugen, naschen, lecken.'

Bav. *nüllen* 'wühlen': *Nellen* f. 'lebhaftes, schnippisches Mädchen': *nollen*, *nullen* 'saugen, schnullen, trinken, auf u. nieder bewegen, coire.'

111. Zaan. *narren* 'cry, wail constantly, grumble': *noeren*

'make a complaining, half-groaning noise (of cows in the stable in winter).'

112. N. *nikka* 'nod,' *nikra* 'whimper, whine,' *nykkja* 'push or pull quickly and suddenly; bend, make crooked; stick out': *nekka* (strong verb, pret. *nakk*) 'start, jump, get a start,' *nekkja* 'tease, incite with pointed words; set aback, hinder; stop and turn back (of the sea in tides),' *nokka*, *nökkja* 'push, sting (of sudden pains)': *nakka* 'chip off the edges, make even; go over with a small plow; beat, thrash': *nokka* 'put a hook into, rock, push ahead a little,' *nokra* 'give out a series of monotonous, trembling sounds to attract attention; grunt, bray, whinny caressingly': *nukka* 'push gently, move ahead by jerks.'

D. dial. *nykke*, *nøkke* 'do a thing little by little; push at lightly': *nokke* 'push, shove, move roughly.'

E. *nick* 'cut notches into,' dial. 'crack, bite, make a clicking sound, hit smartly; steal; seize,' dial. *knick* 'click, crack; cheat, steal': dial. *neck* 'beat or tick like a clock': dial. *nack* 'strike with a missile,' dial. *knack* 'make a sharp clicking sound, crack, snap, gnash the teeth, chat, answer wittily; do cleverly': dial. *nock* 'notch; exhaust, tire out,' *knock* 'strike with something hard, rap,' dial. 'strike (of a clock); beat': dial. *nuck* 'notch, hack.'

Dutch *nikken* 'beckon, nod, doze': *nekken* 'kill; break; vex': *nokken* 'sob.'

Wvl. *nikken* 'nod, bend': *nekken* 'kill,' *neuken* 'give a hard punch or blow': *naken* 'touch': *nokken* 'knot, crochet': *nukken* 'crouch, sit on one's heels.'

Bav. *nickeln* 'einen am Genick, an den Ohren fassen; quälen,' *necken* 'necken': *nackeln*, *nockeln* 'sich hin und her bewegen, wackeln, locker sein': *naucken* 'schlummern.'

112a. E. dial. *niggle* 'gnaw, nibble, hack, notch; trifle, dawdle, fret, worry': *nag* 'vex, annoy,' dial. *naggle* 'pain continuously; walk tossing the head affectedly,' dial. *gnaggle* 'gnaw, bite hard, grumble, scold, dispute': dial. *noggle* 'manage with difficulty, walk with difficulty,' dial. *knog* 'knock the knuckles.'

Schw. *niggele* 'nörgeln, kritteln, zänkeln, necken, ärgern, jucken, reizen': *nöggele* 'langsam, ungeschickt an etwas arbeiten;



wackeln; oberflächlich zusammennähen,' *näggele* 'tänzelnd sich mit etwas beschäftigen, leicht rütteln, schnitzeln, klappern; plagen, necken, schlagen': *noggle* 'sich hin u. her bewegen, wackeln': *nöggle* 'saugen, lutschen': *nuggele* 'lutschen.'

112b. Thur. *ningern* 'heulen': *nängern* 'in halblautem, näselndem Tone weinen.'

113. N. *sipa* 'cry, weep,' *sipla* 'lap up, drink; run quickly by drops with a weak sound; suck by little quantities but audibly': *supa* (strong verb -u-au-o) 'suck, draw into the mouth; eat with a spoon; drink little by little, take sips; bibble, tipple.'

S. Dial. *sipa* 'trickle, drip': dial. *soppa* 'sop bread in soup': dial. *supa* 'eat with a spoon (liquids), drink.'

E. *seep* 'trickle, ooze, percolate,' *sip* 'drink in small quantities': *sop* 'soak in a liquid': *sup* 'drink slowly': dial. *sipe* 'seep.'

OF. *sipen*, *sipen* 'schlürfen, schlürfend trinken': *süpen*, *supen* 'saufen, trinken.'

Westf. *sipen* (st.) 'triefen, sickern': *sappken* 'vom Laute des getretenen Wassers,' *sappe* f. 'Brühe': *soppe* f. 'Suppe': *supen* (st.) 'saufen.'

Pr. *sipen*, *süpen* 'weinen': *sappen* 'plump und schwerfällig im Kote gehen; quatschen (von den Schuhen); Suppe essen': *suppen* 'stark triefen.'

Bav. *süffeln* 'gleiten, mit den Füßen anstreifen': *sauffen* 'saufen; schlürfen.'

113a. Pr. *sibbern*, *sübberr*, 'sickern; in kleinen Zügen trinken; bei Nebel sachte regnen': *sabbern* 'geifern, viel u. unnütz reden.'

Lux. *sabbelen* 'Speichel u. Getränk aus dem Munde laufen lassen, geifern': *subbelen* 'sudeln.'

114. N. *simla* 'gather small and scattered objects': *samna*, *samla* 'gather, collect': *sumla* 'gather carelessly and hastily; grab together.'

115. N. *sisla* 'trickle, run gently': *susla* 'dabble, paddle in.'

S. dial. *sissa* 'mingere (of children)': *sussa* 'sleep soundly (of children); hum to sleep.'

Dutch. *sissen* 'hiss, whizz, sizzle': *sussen* 'appease, hush, smother.'

OF. *sissen* 'zischen': *süsen*, *susen* 'sausen, brausen, schwirren.'

Westf. *sisen* 'zischen (von angezündetem Schiesspulver)': *susen* 'sausen, schlafen, summen.'

Hess. *sisen* 'zischend siedend oder brennen': *sich sösen* 'sich beruhigen; nachlassen (vom Schmerze)': *sūsen* 'in vollem Sieden sein': *sausen* 'durch Wiegen einschläfern.'

116. N. *sirra* 'drip at small intervals; whimper; whine': *surra*, 'hum, buzz, murmur, whisper, put to sleep.'

117. N. *siga* 'trickle, run slowly, ooze, sag, crawl on': *suga* 'suck.'

S. *sickla* 'scrape': *sucka* 'sigh deeply.'

E. *sicker* 'seep': *suck* 'draw in with the lips.'

Thur. *sickern* 'fein regnen': *sucken* 'saugen.'

Els. *sickre* 'sickern': *suckle* 'langsam saugen.'

Bav. *sickern* 'sintern, abrinnen': *suckeln* 'saugen.'

118. E. *spit* 'spucken,' dial. *spitter* 'rain or snow slightly; sputter': *spat* 'give a light resounding blow; quarrel slightly,' *spatter* 'splash, especially with mud': *sputter* 'spit in small drops, throw out small drops with crackling noise,' dial. 'run quickly and cause a commotion.'

118a. E. dial. *spaddle* 'make dirt, make a litter; shuffle in walking': dial. *spuddle* 'dig lightly and ineffectively, rake about, muddle, be uselessly busy, stir a liquid, make a mess.'

119. E. dial. *splitter* 'make a spluttering noise': dial. *splatter* 'splash, bedaub, wade noisily in water or mud; walk or run with a rattling noise; scatter abroad; knock down': *splutter* 'sputter,' dial. 'splash, slaver, spit, gush out with a sharp noise, spill in an awkward, dirty manner; make a great fuss about a trifle.'

120. N. *sprita* 'spirt, squirt in a fine stream': *spruta* (strong verb -u-au-o) 'spout, gush.'

S. *spritta* 'jerk, jump, start, thrill, sparkle,' *spritsa* 'scintillate': *sprätta* 'rip up; shoot; scatter; splutter; flaunt': *spruta* 'squirt, spout.'

121. Hess. *schmattern* 'auseinanderspritzen (von weichem Kot)': *schmuttern* 'faulig riechen.'

Els. *schmatze* 'schmatzen, schnalzen, schmauchen': *schmutze* 'Fett an die Speisen tun.'

Bav. *schmatzen* 'schmatzen, schmatzend küssen, schmatzend

auf die Erde fallen lassen' : *schmätzen* 'schwatzen, reden,' *schmetzeln* 'lächeln' : *schmotzen*, *schmutzeln*, 'lächeln.'

122. Westf. *smiederig* 'dünn, schwach' : *smadderig* 'schmierig' : *smuederig* 'drückend warm.'

123. E. *smash* 'hurl with a crash, crush, beat severely' : dial. *smush* 'mash, crush to powder, eat bit by bit and secretly anything got in an improper manner; waste or decay slowly,' dial. *smushle* 'eat slowly in secrecy; waste slowly; drizzle.'

124. E. dial. *smicker* 'smile, grin, smirk' : *smack* 'make a noise with the tongue or lips,' dial. 'sound, give forth a loud report.'

Dutch *smakken* 'hurl, fling, fall, knock; smack' : *smokken* 'kiss,' *smokkelen* 'smuggle, cheat, filch.'

WVl. *smakken* 'slap on the water (of fish)' : *smokken* 'smack, kiss,' *smokkelen* 'eat with pleasure and smackingly.'

OF. *smikke*. *smik* 'klatschendes Ende der Peitsche, Schmiss, Hieb, Wunde' : *smēken* 'streicheln, liebkosen' : *smakken* 'schmatzen' : *smōken* 'schmauchen, rauchen, qualmen' : *smukken* 'drücken, küssen, kosen,' *smukkeln* 'schmuggeln, schleichen, Schleichwege gehen.'

Westf. *smicken* 'mit einer Rute schlagen' : *smacken* 'hörbar essen' : *smucken* 'klatschen,' *smuckeln* 'anhaltend küssen.'

Els. *schmicke* 'einen Schlag mit der Peitsche versetzen, mit fliegender Angel fischen' : *schmacke* 'schmecken, riechen, austehen' : *schmucke* 'schmuggeln, sich einhüllen, heucheln.'

Bav. *schmecken* 'riecken, schmecken' : *schmuckeln* 'übel riechen.'

125. S. *stappla* 'totter, stagger, stutter' : *stupa* 'stumble, tumble.'

Dutch *stippen* 'point, steep, speckle' : *stappen* 'step, tread, walk' : *stoppen* 'fill, stuff, cram, block up.'

OF. *stippen* 'oberflächlich in etwas hineinstossen' : *stappen* 'den Fuss auf etwas niedersetzen, treten.'

Westf. *stippen* 'mit der Spitze hineintunken; mit der Nadel in etwas stechen' : *stuppeln* 'unsicher gehen.'

Pr. *stippen* 'tippen, tüpfen, tunken, eintauchen' : *stappen* 'stapfen, schreiten, gehen.'

Stieg. *schtippen* 'tupfen, mit der Fingerspitze berühren, tunken' : *schtuppel* f. 'Stoppel, Halmstumpf.'

125a. *stibba* 'walk with short, stiff, small steps like a little child' : *stabba* 'walk slowly, swayingly; walk with short stiff steps like an old man' : *stubby* 'walk with short stiff steps, = *stabba*; fall down, pull oneself firmly back; wear out; dissolve part by part.'

126. E. *stamp* : *stump*.

Bav. *stimpfen* 'sticheln, kritteln, schmähen' : *stampfen*, 'stampfen; stempeln.'

127. S. dial. *stirna* *pā* 'stiffen with cold' : dial. *stara* 'stare' : dial. *stura* 'be downcast; do nothing,' dial. *sturna* 'start, be suddenly frightened.'

128. D. *stikke* (c.) 'small slender cane' : *stok* 'stick, cane.'

OF. *stikke*, *stik* 'kleiner, dünner Stock, Stift' : *stok* 'Stock.'

Pr. *Staks* m. 'Stich' : *Stucks* m. 'Stoss.'

129. N. *stigla* 'walk haltingly or slowly, with careful steps, blunder, stutter' : *stagla* 'walk stiffly and stumblingly.'

130. N. *stripla* 'let drip slowly; drip slowly, milk dropwise; strip off' : *strupla* 'wade in mire or mud; prattle, jabber.'

Dutch *stribbelen* 'cavil, wrangle, carp' : *strobbelen* 'stumble, make a false step; be scandalized at.'

Els. *strable* 'zappeln' : *verstruble* 'zerzausen.'

131. E. dial. *stram* 'bang, beat, walk noisily' : dial. *strom* 'stride, walk with long steps, roam about' : dial. *straum* 'stride, swagger, stretch out' : *strum* 'strum, strike the chords,' dial. 'be pettish' : dial. *strime* 'stride, pace.'

132. OF. *strampeln* 'heftig mit den Füßen schlagen, stossen, zappelnd bewegen' : *strumpeln* 'gebrechlich, steif, stockend, lahmend, hinkend gehen; humpeln, stolpern.'

Pr. *strampeln* 'die Füße lebhaft tretend bewegen; kurze Tritte machen' : *strompeln*, *strumpeln* 'straucheln, hinfallen überhaupt.'

133. S. dial. *stritta* (strong verb-a-u) 'spirt out suddenly and violently' : dial. *stratta* 'splash, spill, squirt quickly from a hole; paulatim mingere; have diarrhoea (of small children)' : *strutta* 'walk with a stooping, hobbling walk; hop about; jolt.'

D. dial. *stritle*, *strette* 'walk with short steps, affectedly' : *strattle* 'go about for amusement only, without purpose.'

134. N. *snafsa* 'smack, eat greedily, snap after' : *snufsa* 'draw the breath audibly up through the nose, snuff; watch, scent out; spy.'

D. *snip* (c.) 'tip, end' : *snappe* 'snatch, snap' : *snuppe* 'hook, nab.'

E. *snip* 'cut quickly with scissors' : *snap* 'break short or at once; bite at, catch at' : dial. *snop* 'strike sharply and smartly; slap, chip, break; snap, be snappish.'

Groningen *snippeln* 'Bohnen in sehr dünne Scheiben schneiden' : *snappen* 'fassen, begreifen, verstehen.'

Dutch *snippen*, *snipperen* 'chip, clip, snip' : *snappen* 'snatch, catch; tattle' : *snoepen* 'eat in secret, buy in secret; have venial commerce.'

WVl. *afsnippen* 'snip off, cut off in small pieces' : *snappen* 'seize hastily,' *afsnappen* 'take off hastily.'

OF. *snippen* 'schnippen, knipsen, schnellen' : *snappen* 'schnappen, springen, schnellen, fliegen' : *snopen*, *snöpen* 'naschen' : *snip-snap-snaven* 'kleinere Naschereien.'

Westf. *snippeln* 'schnitzen' : *snappen* 'fangen, zu beißen suchen; nach Luft schnappen' : *snuppen* 'naschen.'

Pr. *schnippen* 'schnippen,' *schnippeln* 'in kleine Stückchen schneiden' : *schnepfern* 'schnappend schliessen (die Tür)' : *schnappen* 'schnappen,' *schnappeln* 'die Spitze der Gänsekielfeder abknipsen, abschnappen' : *schnuppen* 'schnupfen.'

Moselfr. *schnäppich*, Siebenb. *geschnapperich* 'vorlaut' : Moselfr. Siebenb. *geschupperich* 'naschhaft.'

Hess. *schnippen* 'sich schneuzen' : *schnappen* 'unversehens von einem Rande hinabfallen; hinken.'

Thur. *schnippen* 'schnellen, zappelnd in die Höhe springen; rasch schleudern; kleine Stücke schneiden' : *schnappen* 'mit der Peitsche knallen, fangen' : *schnuppen* 'naschen.'

Stieg. *schnippen* 'in kleinen Stücken abschneiden' : *schnäp'n* 'weit ausholend schlagen, dass es klatscht' : *schnäppen* 'schnappen, fangen, erhaschen.'

NHD. *schnippen* : *schnappen* : *schnupfern*, *schnupfen*.

Els. *schnippere* 'mit dem Finger fortschnellen' : *schnappe* 'schnappen; gähnen; gierig essen; wanken,' *schnappere* 'schneiden, viel reden' : *schnuppe* 'nach etwas, das andern gehört, heimlich suchen; herumwühlen und suchen,' *schnuppere* 'schnupfern; schnellen, rash fliegen.'

Bav. *schnipfen* 'mit leichter, flinker Bewegung nehmen, eine Kleinigkeit entwenden; kleine Stückchen von etwas schneiden; in kurzen Zügen trinken; schluchzen,' *schnipffezzen* 'schluchzen,' *schnippeln* 'kleine Stücke von etwas schneiden': *schneppen* 'eine kurze Bewegung machen; schnappen,' *schnepfern* 'schwätzen, plaudern': *schnappen* 'schnappen': *schnopfen*, *schnopfzen* 'schnupfen, schnüffeln,' *schnoppfern*, *schnuppfern* 'herumriechen.'

134a. S. *snabba sig* 'hurry, rush': *snubbla* 'stumble,' dial. *snubba* 'cut to make shorter, stub.' Cf. perhaps also No. 134 Els. and Bav.

134b. E. *sniff* 'snuff sharply,' dial. 'court, woo, whimper,' dial. *sniffle* 'sniff; cry, whimper; be slow in motion or action, trifle,' *snivel* 'run at the nose, weep sniffingly': dial. *snaff* 'sniff in a noisy, surly, or derisive manner, find fault in a surly manner,' dial. *snaffle* 'speak through the nose, talk nonsense; saunter; steal; entangle, ruffle': dial. *snozzle* 'snuffle, breathe heavily through the nose, talk through the nose': *snuff* 'draw into the nose, smell,' *snuffle* 'breathe hard through the nose,' dial. 'snub, disappoint.' Cf. perhaps also No. 134N.

135. N. *snatra* 'puff, spout; crackle' *snutra* 'sniff after, pry, rummage for.'

E. dial. *snitter* 'laugh in a suppressed manner; titter, sneer': dial. *snutter* 'snigger, snore.'

Dutch *snateren* 'chatter, prattle': *snoteren* 'snivel; cry; wean': *snuiten* 'snuff a candle; blow the nose; cheat.'

OF. *snittern* 'mit fein u. scharf tönendem Geräusch oder schwirrendem Ton rasch durchschneiden, sich bewegen oder fliegen': *snetern*, *snatern* 'rasseln, klirren, schmettern': *snatern* 'schnattern, plappern,' *snattern* 'klappern, rasseln.'

135a. Lux. *schnadderen* 'schnattern, vor Kälte; viel u. schnell reden': *schnuddelen* 'Nasenschleim triefen; kritisieren.'

136. E. *sneeze* 'niessen': dial. *snooze* 'doze.'

137. Bav. *schnallen* 'knallen,' *schnalzen* 'schnalzen': *schnullen* 'saugen.'

138. E. *sneer* 'show contempt, deride': *snore* 'schnarchen.'

Groningen *snirten* 'backen, braten': *snarren* 'prahlen, aufschneiden.'

Dutch *snerken* 'fry, rattle in the pan': *snorken* 'snore, snort, boast,' *snorren* 'whiz, rattle, hum; drive a stage-coach.'

Wvl. *snerken* 'hurt,' *snerten* 'of a sharp, grating, unpleasant sound': *snarren* 'schnurren,' *snaren* 'move quickly and hurriedly': *snorren* 'grunt.'

OF. *snüren*, *sniren*, *snirren* 'ein feines, zischendes oder scharfes, helles und durchdringendes Geräusch machen; braten, prasseln; mit scharfem, schrillum Tone sprechen': *snarren* 'schnarren; rasch und hart tönen; mit schnarrender Stimme sprechen; lärmern; pochen, prahlen': *snoren*, *snören* 'bummeln, faulenzern': *snüren*, *snuren*, *snurren* 'ein dumpf tönendes u. schwirrendes Geräusch machen; schnurren, surren, sausen; strolchend herumvagieren.'

Westf. *snarren* 'beissen wollen, um sich schnappen,' *ansnarren* 'anschmaugen, anschmaugen, anfahren': *snurren* 'schnurren (von der Katze); erbetteln.'

Wald. *snaren* 'schnarren; Gaumen-statt Zungen-R sprechen': *snuren* 'schnurren (von Spinnrade oder der Katze); dahinsausen.'

Pr. *schnirksen*, *schnirzen* 'Wasser durch die Zähne schnellen': *schnarken* 'schnarchen, schwatzen,' *schnarren* 'eine Knarre in lärmende Bewegung setzen; laut u. viel reden; lärmern; ohne Verständniss reden': *schnorren* 'schnurren, umherziehend betteln': *schnurr schnurz* interj. 'schallnachahmend zur Bezeichnung des Tones, den das Zerreißen eines gewebten Zeuges verursacht.'

Stieg. *schnärn* 'schnarren': *schnurn* 'schnurren, zitternd tönen; lügen, fabeln; bettelnd umherziehen; sich zusammenziehend kleiner werden.'

NHD. *schnarren*, *schnarchen*: *schnurren*.

Els. *schnarre* 'schnellen; sich, besonders im Kreise, schnell bewegen; sausen; schlagen; sich irren': *schnurre* 'schnurren sausen (von Maschinen, Wassar, etc.); schnell laufen, eilen; brummd schelten; betteln.'

Bav. *schnarren* 'schnarren, plappern; schreien wie gewisse Vögel': *schnarren* 'schnarren, plappern': *schnurren* 'schnurren, zornig reden, schlendern, bettelnd u. musizierend umhergehen.'

Tir. *schnarren* 'schnarren,essen': *schnurren* 'brummen, sich laut u. unwillig äussern.'

[To be continued]



